

Fiction Unmasked;

OR, AN ANSWER TO

A DIALOGUE lately published by
a Popish Physician, and pretended to have passed
between a Dissenter and a Member of the Church
of *Ireland*; wherein the Causes, Motives, and Mis-
chiefs of the *Irish Rebellion* and *Massacres* in 1641
are laid thick upon the Protestants. In which are
occasionally interspersed some Structures on the
Impartial Examiner published by the Reverend
John Jones, a Romish Priest, in 1747, during the
Rebellion in *Scotland*, and when the Flame was
expected to break out in *Ireland*.

IN A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A PROTESTANT and a PAPIST.

By WALTER HARRIS, Esq;

Veritas claudi et ligari potest, vinci

Non potest.

Hieron. in Comment. in Hierem. Proem. in Lib. 5.

The Lip of Truth shall be established; but the Lying
Tongue is but for a Moment. *Prov. xii. 19.*

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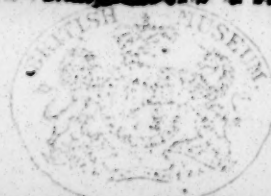
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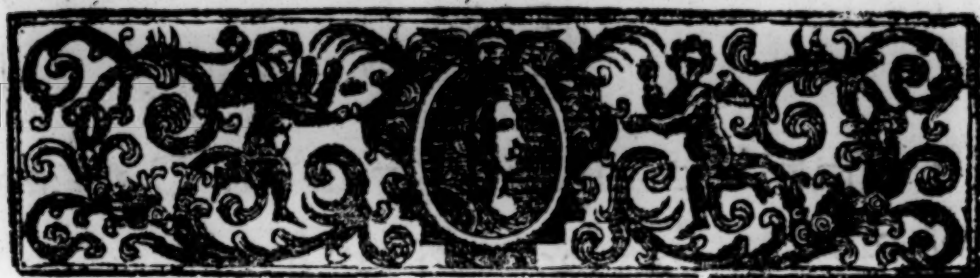
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To the Right Honourable

R O B E R T,

Lord Baron NEWPORT of
NEWPORT, Lord High
Chancellor of *IRELAND.*

MY LORD,

WHEN the Protestant Religi-
on, and *English* Interest of
this Kingdom are virulently
defamed in false and scandalous Libels,
I think

I think it compatible with my Duty and Affection to vindicate both. The Subject demands a powerful Patronage, as it is an Answer to a Book supported by a numerous and bold Faction, who, to wipe away the unrepented Sins of their Ancestors, are not ashamed to substitute Darknefs in the room of Light, and disguise and falshood in the Place of Evidence, and undissembled Truth. Where then should I seek for Protection but from one, who, to a depth of other polite Literature, hath added a complete Knowledge in the History and Constitution of this Country, and, consequently, is an unappealable Judge, whether what my Antagonist or I have advanced, be the dictates of sound Reason and Authority?

Whoever,

Whoever, My LORD, hath access to your Library (for which Favour I am infinitely thankful) will see, with what Care, and at what Expence, you have collected such Parts of the Furniture thereof, as bear a Relation to Us; and for which it is not I only, but the Publick in general, who ought to make to you acknowledgments of gratitude. These, My LORD, are not the sole Motives, which induce me to this Address: But your innate Candor, your Condescension, and Benevolence (the Fruits of which I have plentifully experienced) and those *facilimi Mores*, the touch-stone of a good Mind, applied to *Scipio* by *Cicero* * (of * De Amicitia. which our Language is too poor to convey a just Idea) would leave me inexcusable

fable, if I did not lay hold of this Opportunity thus publickly to testifie with what sincere Observance and Devotion, I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's,

most obliged,

most Obedient,

and most humble,

Servant

WALTER HARRIS.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

DURING the late Rebellion in *Scotland* several Weekly Scraps were sent abroad by a *Romish* Priest under the title of *Impartial Examiners*, fraught with as much Rancor, Folly, and Falshood, as could possibly enter into the composition of such a Writer. At the same time (as is confessed by the Author) was written a Dialogue between a Protestant of the Church of *Ireland*, and a Dissenter; under which Personation the Writer endeavours to prove, that the Rebellion of 1641 was fomented by the Protestants, and that the first Massacres of that ever infamous period were committed by them.—A charge so Monstrous, so Atrocious, and so destitute of the least foundation of truth, that I much admire, that any Man, not intirely given up to delusion and deceit, could propagate such wild and unsupported Notions. Probably these two Libels were written with one view, namely, to incite their Countrymen to be in a readiness to pursue the same Steps with the Rebels in *Scotland*. This latter piece did not appear, at least did not come to my Hands, till *March* last, though written long before; and I cannot conceive any good reason why it should then be sent into the World, unless something was in the Wind, to which the Publick are yet Strangers. I did not indeed think, that the Arguments

ments contained in that Dialogue could have the least influence on any considerate Mind; but, if others thought differently of what to me appeared a trifle, I had no doubt but some more able Pen than mine would take up the Gauntlet, and smite this insolent *Goliath* with a Stone out of *David's* Sling. When I returned from the Country last *October*, to my surprize I found in conversation with many real and well disposed Protestants, that the said Dialogue had made impressions on them. Seeing therefore that no other Person had taken the Author to task, I found my Affections to the Constitution and established Religion engaged to offer my thoughts upon the Occasion; which I hope will serve as an Antidote to a Poyson, with which some have been infected; to whom if this Answer proves of any service I have my end. Because the Dialogue may be scarce, or not in every hand, I have exactly quoted and referred to it in this Answer, and I have handled the Matter Dialogue--Wise in compliance with the Method of the Author. I have also made some Observations on the *Impartial Examiner*, the Arguments conveyed by both these Libels having the same tendency. The Subject hath sometimes drawn me aside to remark upon other Topicks, something nevertheless Analogous to it, for which I request the Candor of the Reader.

Fiction

FICTION UNMASKED.

A

DIALOGUE.

Prot. I Am glad, Doctor, to meet you at Home this Evening, and hope your Afternoon's Visits are over, that I may have a little free Conversation with you.

Pap. I am at your Command, Sir, till Bed-time. But what occasions this Favour now from one, who hath been so long a Stranger to these Walls?

Prot. I'll tell you. Some Person of less Truth than Boldness hath lately put forth a Libel against the Protestants, in which, I confess, he hath shewn more Wisdom in concealing his Name, than in publishing his Work.

Pap. What Libel is it you mean? For the Town is pestered with such every Day; so that I may easily mistake one for another.

Prot. It is entitled, *A Brief Account from the most Authentic Protestant Writers, of the Causes, Motives, and Mischiefs of the Irish Rebellion on the 23d of October 1641, in a Dialogue between a Dissenter, and a Member of the Church of Ireland, &c.* wherein, by making the *Dissenter* object and reason weakly enough for an easy Confutation, this Church-Papist hath paved his Way to a ready Victory. This is an effectual Method of calumniating; and weak People, believing it to be a real Discourse, must entertain strange Notions of the *Protestants*. The Author of this Dialogue would personate a Protestant; but it is manifest from the whole Texture of it, that he must be of a quite different Persuasion. Now, as you are a Man of Sense, and well read in the History of those Times, I should be glad to have your Opinion of that Performance.

Pap. I have read it, and really think it a solid unanswerable Piece.

B

Prot.

Prot. Strange, how religious Principles will pervert the Judgment ! I, who differ from you in that Point, think it a weak and indefensible, nay, an imprudent Attempt. But I do not wonder you should have a good Opinion of the Issue of your own Brain.

Pap. What do you mean, Sir? you seem to think, that I am the Author of that Dialogue ; the contrary of which may be true, for whatever you or any one else can prove.

Prot. You are in the right to deny it ; for indeed it can bring you no Credit. But, Sir, the Proof of this Accusation may not be so difficult a Task as you imagine. Did you know one *Conry*? I think he is dead; he was Clerk to a Wine-Merchant in this Town.

Pap. I did ; he was my Acquaintance and Friend.

Prot. It was he, Sir, that put this Dialogue into the Printer's Hands, told him you were the Author of it, and that the Profit thereof was to be applied to the Relief of a Gentleman, then under some Misfortunes ; who, it is well known, had the sale and Disposal of all the Copies, which was done at his Lodgings in *Back-lane*.

Pap. I cannot help what *Conry* may have said ; he is dead, and unable to answer for himself.

Prot. But I will give you a living Evidence, whose Credit I am confident you will not dispute. It is the Reverend Mr. *John Jones*, a Priest of your own Religion, who hath declared often the same Thing that *Conry* did, with this Addition, that you spoiled the whole by expunging some Passages, which he would have had retained ; and that makes me think, that he was some Way concerned with you in furnishing out that doughty Performance.

Pap. I know Mr. *Jones* well ; he is a worthy Man, and my intimate Friend and Acquaintance ; but that he declared me to be the Author, I much doubt.

Prot. He did, Sir, not only in the Passage of that Dialogue through the Press, but often since ; and I offer his Evidence, because you give him a good Character, though upon any other Occasion I should be very loth to take it ; because he knows well, and I challenge him to deny it, that this intimate Friend and Acquaintance of yours, at a certain Time, not much for his Credit to remember, disowned a Fact, with which to his Face he was charged, in the most solemn Manner, with Asseverations and Oaths, and upon his Priesthood, with his Hand to his Heart ; which Fact I afterwards proved to his face by his Hand-writing, which confounded him so much, that he at length owned it,
and

and could not help being at the expence of one blush. But I will give you a further Proof that you were the Author of this Treatise. It is well known that the last Corrections of a Sheet pass through the Hands of the Author; and this did so through yours, and was returned to the Printer corrected with your Hand-writing, which I have seen.

Pap. Let that be how it will, I am not in a Disposition, to own or deny myself to be the Author of it. But what Objections have you to it?

Prot. Many, many, Doctor; if Prevarication, Deceit, and false Allegations (I had like to have used a harsher Term) may be Matters worthy of Objection. I am sensible the Doctrine of Equivocation, and mental Restrictions, is too much countenanced by your Church: But to deal in bold Falshoods without Disguise, though it may deceive an unwary Reader, yet it lays itself open to the Scorn and Contempt of the intelligent Part of Mankind.

Pap. These are harsh Charges, and ought to be founded upon solid Proofs. But pray, Sir, by the way, inform me, how is Equivocation, or mental Restriction the Doctrine of our Church? I would be glad to know this; because it is really a Secret to me. For such Divinity is the Divinity of Cheats and Knaves.

Prot. You are in the right, Doctor, it is the Divinity of Knaves, and Pick-pockets. For Faith is the Foundation of Justice, and is an uniform Steadiness and Firmness in our Words, Promises, and Contracts; a Deviation from which puts an End to all Dealings between Man and Man. Yet because you desire to know how this Doctrine is countenanced by your Church, I will give you such Satisfaction therein as I am able. I know you are much better versed in the Ecclesiastical History of your Church, than I can pretend to be, especially in that of these later Ages: For the early Fathers would be ashamed of such Doctrine. You cannot but know the Doctrine of *directing the Intention* taught in the Books of some of your great Casuists, a Doctrine which teaches to deceive Men by false Promises and Oaths, and yet your Promises shall be reckoned sincere, and your Oaths sacred. I know you will call this a harsh Charge; and so it is indeed, and requires to be well supported. I refer you therefore to no less a Witness than the Pope's Penitentiary, and a Casuist of high Reputation, *Filliucius*, (a) who in express terms alledges, "that (a) Tom. 2. Tract 29
" though a Man has *externally* promised any Thing, but
" without an *Intention* of promising, that the same Person No. 323
B 2 " being

“ being interrogated, whether he made such a Promise,
 “ he may deny it, meaning *internally*, that he did not make a
 “ Promise that was binding; nay he may even swear to it;
 “ for otherwise he may be obliged to pay what he did not
 (b) In de- “ owe.” *Tambourin* (b) goes a Step further, and excuses
 cal. Lib. i. those from keeping their Word or Oath, who make only a
 Cap. 3. Doubt whether they intended to oblige themselves to keep
 such Word or Oath. “ Though you are sure, says that
 “ great Divine, that you have made a Vow or an Oath, but
 “ doubt whether you had an *Intention* to oblige yourself to
 “ stand to it, in my Opinion it is not improbable that you
 (c) Com- “ are not bound by it.” *Valentia* (c) advances still higher;
 ment. for he is of Opinion, “ that though you make a Promise
 Theol. “ with an *Intention* of being obliged, yet the Obligation does
 Disp. 6. “ not take Place, provided you have no Will to perform the
 “ thing promised.” -----Have Patience, Sir, till I give you
 one Instance (and a precious one it is) upon the Art of Swear-
 ing by a *Double Entendre*, i. e. to swear and not to swear in
 the same Breath. This Jugling was invented by a very con-
 siderable Divine of your Church, *Sanchez*, (d) who teaches
 (d) Lib. a Method to make others believe a Falshood, without per-
 iii. Cap. 6. juring yourself. His Secret is curious, and yet plain; for all
 the Mystery of it consists in cutting off a Letter. “ When
 “ one goes to swear, says this Jugler, say *uro*, which signi-
 “ fies to burn, instead of *juro* I swear, that is, you may say
 “ in *English* *wear* instead of swear;” which, adds he,
 “ would be but a venial Lie at Worst.” And again, “ If a
 “ Man swears that he has not done a thing, which in Real-
 “ ty he has, meaning some other thing within his own
 “ Breast, which he has not done, or some other Day than
 “ that assigned for the Fact, suppose before he was born, he
 “ is neither perjured nor a Lyar. And these Ambiguities,
 “ adds he, are very convenient to hide many things.” I
 could give you much more to the same Purpose, which you
 will find amply set forth in a Book intituled, *A Parallel of the*
Doctrine of the Pagans with that of the Jesuits. But let
 these Instances suffice.

Pap. They do suffice, indeed. But let me tell you, these
 are not the Doctrines of our Church, but of a few *Jesuits*,
 such as you have named, and of others of the same Order,
 who might be named.

Prot. If they are not the Doctrines of your Church, why
 are they not disowned, exploded, condemned, and stigma-
 tized by general, national, or provincial Councils, or even by
 Papal

Papal Rescripts? which I do not find is done. Nay, on the contrary, Pope *Clement XI.* hath canonized those and many other impious Tenets of the *Jesuits* by his Bull *Unigenitus*, which condemns 101 Propositions extracted from the Writings of Father *Quesnel*, of which the last is (e) conformable to (e) Pro- the Subject we are upon, and is as follows, namely, “ There pos. 101. “ is nothing more opposite to the Spirit of God, and the “ Doctrine of *Christ*, than to render Oaths common in the “ Church; because it is to multiply the Opportunities of Per- “ jury, and lay Snares for the weak and ignorant; as also oc- “ casions that the Name and Truth of God serve sometimes “ for the promoting of ungodly Designs.” This, among a great many other innocent Propositions, is condemned by the Pope, Cardinals and other Divines, “ as false, captious, ill “ sounding, offensive to pious Ears, scandalous, pernicious, rash, “ injurious to the Church, and its Practice, and favouring of “ Heresy.” Observe what the Proposition says, that the Commonness of Oaths occasions that the Name and Truth of God serve sometimes for the promoting of ungodly Designs, and multiply the Opportunities of Perjury. What then can be said of those, who distinguish away all Obligation of Oaths by the Doctrine of *Intention*, and by the juggling Distinctions before cited?

Pap. But how, Sir, is this Matter of Oaths pertinent to the Subject of the Dialogue, which I take to be the Affair in Hand?

Prot. Whether pertinent or not I shall not Dispute; but you challenged me to shew how the Doctrine of Equivocation, or mental Reservation, was countenanced by your Church, which I have done in the Manner you have heard. Yet perhaps, upon serious Reflection, the Discussion of this Doctrine of *Prevarication* may not be so impertinent to the Subject of your Dialogue, as you seem to imagine: For my part I think a great deal of this Principle is interwoven with the whole, and even your Title-page is not exempted from it.

Pap. How so?

Prot. You frame a Dialogue between a *Dissenter* and a *Member* of the Church of *Ireland* as by Law established. Now indisputably no *Dissenter*, no *Member* of the Church of *Ireland*, and none but a *Jesuited Papist*, could argue in the Manner you have made the two first to do. This is the first Instance of your *Prevarication*; and it was injudiciously done. For a Mask in Personation should always bear some Resemblance to the Man personated, or the Spectators would hiss.

Pap. Proceed.

Prot. The Title pretends, that your Accounts of the Rebellion of 1641 are drawn from the most authentic Protestant Writers; and in an Advertisement prefixed to the Piece you say, "that through the whole Controversy you have quoted "no other Writers in Favour of the *Papists* but those of their "greatest Enemies," i. e. of *Protestants*. This, Sir, I will not call a Prevarication; because it is a bold, impudent, and false Assertion. Was the Earl of *Castlehaven*, whom you often quote, a *Protestant*? Was *Peter Walsh*, another of your cited Authors, a *Protestant*? Was the Writer of the Collection of *Massacres* committed on the *Irish* in 1641, a *Protestant*? Were the Remonstrants of the County of *Cavan* *Protestants*? Answer me these Questions, or blush at the false Advances you have made.

Pap. I confess these Writers you mention were *Papists*; but I only cited them to strengthen and enforce the Authorities of *Protestants*.

Prot. Strengthen and enforce the Authorities of *Protestants*! No, Sir, I shall shew you before I have done, that your main Evidence rests upon them, that they are your Sheet Anchor, and that when you cite *Protestant* Writers your only Intention therein is to vilify and abuse them. At present I shall proceed to observe on your Title-page. You say, that your Dialogue was printed at *London* in 1747; whereas I affirm, and will stake my Reputation upon it, that it was printed in *Dublin*, and not published till the latter End of *February* or the Beginning of *March* last. But this is a small Error, purposely calculated to conceal the Author; which I confess was prudently done to save him from Shame and Confusion, You say, indeed, in your Advertisement prefixed to the Dialogue, that it was written during the late Rebellion in *Scotland* in 1745. Though I am suspicious of every thing that drops from your Pen, yet I am willing to believe this, and that your worthy Intimate Friend and Acquaintance, Mr. *Jones*, the Year following, stunned us with his *Impartial Examiner*, published in seven or eight Half-penny Scraps, and both calculated for the same Intent, namely, as *Trumpets of Sedition at that critical time*; though he had the good Luck to get the Start of you, and his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, to put an End to all the Schemes of your Party by his glorious Success at the Battle of *Culloden*. Whoever will be at the Pains of considering the Structure and Design, the Subject Matter, the Period when both were written, and the Coarseness

ness of the Web, will be apt to think, that they were both wove in one Loom, or, to speak without Metaphor, that you both clubbed your small Wits to furnish out that, and this Piece.

Pap. Are these Words fit for the Tongue of a Gentleman?

Prot. I know they sting you, and so I intend them. But let me tell you, Sir, they are the Words of *Truth*, in Opposition to false and scandalous *Invectives*. Will you give me leave to ask you one Question?

Pap. As many as you please.

Prot. What Authority had you, Doctor, to cite my Name in your Dialogue (*f*), and to call me *a most industrious Reviver and Improver of all the exploded Calumnies that were ever heaped on the Irish Papists on the Occasion of that Rebellion*. Does this, Sir, deserve a Rebuke? You have put me indeed among good Company, I thank you for it. For who would not glory to be named in the same Page with Lord *Clarendon*, Sir *John Temple*, Dr. *Borlase*, and, above all, with the Right Reverend the then Lord Bishop of *Dromore*, now the most religious and worthy Bishop of *Meath*? This last mentioned Gentleman you call *the Encomiast and Copyer of Sir John Temple*; as if it were a Fault in a Writer, after a Period of an hundred Years, to copy from an Historian co-temporary with the Fact, from whom there is the best Chance to hear Truth. What else can any Writer upon the Transactions of antient Times do? Unless he would sit down and invent, palliate and curtail Facts, as you have done. An Historian indeed may improve a Fact related by others, by putting it into a more agreeable Light, or by adorning it with more modern Language and Stile; but he must take care of all things to adhere to the Truth, otherwise it is a new Picture he draws, and not a Copy. If in this Sense you make me an Improver of exploded Calumnies, it may possibly be taken for a Compliment. But it is plain you intended it in the Sense of enlarging or amplifying; which I challenge you to shew from the Place quoted. For I was so tender of the Fact, that I did not even mention any Number whatever, who fell Victims on that melancholy Occasion. But how have the Calumnies you mention been exploded? Or how are they Calumnies? I profess I never found them called Calumnies, or that they ever were exploded, except by you and your Friend *Jones*, and perhaps a few others of the like *Kidney*. In charging Dr. *Borlase* with

being a Reviver and Improver of exploded Calumnies you betray your Ignorance or Ofsitancy. He was an original Author, lived in the very Time of the Rebellion, and was Son to the Lord Justice *Borlase*, from whom probably he received a good Share of his Materials; so that in all likelihood we may expect Truth from him.

Pap. Well, proceed with your Observations.

Prot. I must return then to your Advertisement. You say,
 “ That notwithstanding the quiet and dutiful Behaviour of
 “ the *Roman Catholicks* of *Ireland* during the late Rebellion
 “ in *Scotland* in 1745, and indeed ever since the Revolution,
 “ yet many false and scurrilous Libels were then published
 “ against them.”

Pap. Yes, what have you to object to this? Malice itself cannot controvert our Loyalty during the Period mentioned; and as to false and scandalous Libels they are in every Body's Hands to this Day.

Prot. Softly, dear Doctor, do not triumph before you have got the Victory. Loyalty and Libels! They are different Topicks, and must be separately handled. I will not tax the *Papists* of this Nation in general with actual Rebellion since the Revolution; because it would be unjust so to do. But that the Power of the Sword, the Strength of our Armies, and the Vigilance of our Kings have been the Causes of this Tranquility may be with Truth affirmed. That many *Papists* of *Ireland* were involved in the Assassination and other Plots against King *William* may be clearly evinced by only inspecting the Proclamations of those times. It appears also, that some of the same Sort suffered deserved Deaths in the Rebellion of 1715, and that not a few were engaged in the late Rebellion in *Scotland*. If we look abroad, many whole Regiments of *Irish Popish* Gentlemen may be found under the Banners of the *French* King waging War against their natural Prince, not only at present, and during the late Rebellion in our Neighbouring Country, but ever since the Revolution. These Facts here alledged are too notorious to bear Contradiction, and must be allowed to be some small Alloy to your boasted Loyalty, and dutiful Behaviour.

Pap. Not in the least, Sir, one Swallow makes no Summer; and the Misbehaviour of a few ought not in Justice to be imputed to a Body of People.

Prot. I grant your Position; but the Case is widely different from what you would represent it. If one, two, or twenty, were abroad in the Service of the natural Enemy of
 the

the Crown, little might be thought of it. But when whole and numerous Corps, Battallions and Regiments of well bodied and gallant Men are in such Service, it must create a Jealousy, that their Business there is to learn Discipline and Conduct, and to be ready upon any Emergency to fall into the Bowels of their Country. This, Sir, is no Notion of Yesterday, but hath been practised not only in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, but since that time in the Rebellion, which is now under Consideration, as well as in that lately in *Scotland*: So that if this boasted Loyalty were innate, and grounded upon solid or religious Principles, we should in this last Scene have found whole Shoals of your People flocking to the Magistrates to take the Oaths of Allegiance to his Majesty, and of Abjuration of the Pretender to his Crowns: But nothing of the Sort then happened, as far as I can learn by the strictest Enquiry. As to those false and scurrilous Libels you mention, it would be well if you had pointed them out; for I must profess my Ignorance of them. If you mean the circular Letters published during the *Scotch* Troubles by the Bishops to the Clergy of their respective Diocesses, or if you mean the Farmers Letters, you may know, that all their Labours upon that Occasion tended only to arm their Fellow-Subjects against the Approaches or Appearances of Danger, that they might not be surprized in a Time of a profound Calm, as their Ancestors were in the Rebellion of 1641. Your Friend *Jones(g)* has inculcated (g) Exam. the same Arguments of *Loyalty* and Libels as you have done, p. 3. and the same Answer will serve for both, with this Observation only, that you were both Co-operators in the same Cause, as I hinted before; for I am confident you would scorn a Theft from such a poor Writer.

Pap You have worn out this Subject; if you have more to object, proceed.

Prot. I cannot yet quit your Advertisement: You say you are an Advocate for *Truth* and *Mercy* in Behalf a Set of Men, who have been so long in the general condemned without either. As to *Truth* I shall postpone the Consideration of that Topic, till I come to animadvert upon the Body of your Dialogue. But pray, Sir, what do you mean, that you have been condemned without *Mercy*? One would think by the Expression, that ever since the Rebellions of 1641 or 1688 the Gallows groaned every Day with *Papists* either for their Religion or Rebellion, and that they are
strung

strung up by Dozens for Crimes, of which I will allow they are not guilty.

Pap. You are quite wide of the Mark. What I mean by Want of Mercy is the Severity of the Laws in relation to *Religion, Education, and Property*. As to Religion, have we any more than a bare Connivance in the Exercise of it, which may be taken from us whenever the Magistrates please? We have no Universities or Schools of Literature in this Kingdom for the Education of our Children, and can we send them into foreign Parts to be educated in our own Religion, without suffering Pains and Penalties? Can we purchase an Acre of Land, or take a Lease thereof for more than thirty-one Years, and that too at two Thirds of the improved Value, without being subject to a Discovery by any Protestant that pleases to sue for it? There are several other Laws that bear hard upon our Religion and Property; but at present we shall confine ourselves to these three Points, to answer which will, I believe, not a little gravel you.

Prot. Not in the least, Sir. But I fear they will lead me further than I should covet to go. To satisfy you, I am under the Necessity of handling these three Topicks asunder, and you are at Liberty to break in upon me when you please, to make your Objections as they occur, and to cite any other Laws, which you may judge to bear hard upon your Religion.

Pap. This is fair, and I can desire Nothing more.

Prot. To begin then with Religion. I confess you have only a bare Connivance in the Exercise of it; but such a Connivance as to all reasonable Men must appear in the Light of a Toleration. Have you your Mass-Houses, your Frieries, your Nunneries, in a manner as publick as the established Religion has its Churches? Can you complain, that your Altars, your Reliques, your Crucifixes, your Images, and other Trumperies of Superstition and Idolatry are invaded? Have you not the Exercise of your Religion as free as any Protestant, though in a private and modest Way? Have you not of late erected a sumptuous and elegant Mass-house, even under the Eye of the Government, not inferior to most Churches in the Kingdom? Have you not your Vicars-General, Commissaries, and other illegal Executors of foreign Jurisdiction, as publick and unmolested, as the Established Church has its Courts? Do not your Parish Priests inflict on the Consciences of their deluded Votaries daily new, and till of late, unheard of Penances?

Pap.

Pap. I must stop you, Sir, to inquire what these new Kinds of Penances are, and who is the Executor of them? for, as I am informed, there are Rules laid down for Penances, which no Priest would venture to transgress.

Prot. I cannot give you a full Account of this Matter other than by Report; nor tell you in what Parish this Executor of new Penances lives; but that it is somewhere in the Province of *Leinster*. His Name is Father *Fullart*, which some have inverted into *Artful*, from his extraordinary Sense and discreet Management of his Votaries, and the Sneerers have given him the Sobriquet or Nick-Name of *Sagart-Sugan*, or the *Sugan-Priest*, from the Nature of this new Penance. For, instead of Prayers, Ave Maries, Fastings, or other Mortifications, he obliges those who confess to him the Commission of any Sins of the Flesh, to march about his Mass-house in Time of publick Service, with a *Sugan*, or *Collar of Straw*, about their Necks, in order that the Congregation may laugh them out of their foul Practices, which perhaps may be thought to harden and confirm them in their bad Habits, instead of working a Reformation. I fancy he has taken this thought up from the Practice of some School-masters, who tie a Horn-Book about the Necks of their idle Boys, by that means to shame them into Diligence.

Pap. I never heard of this Kind of Penance before; but certainly he has instituted it in the room of the white Sheet.-- Proceed where I interrupted you.

Prot. I have shewn you the great Connivance you meet with in the Exercise of your Religion: Yet does this mild and wise Government molest you, or seek to put the Laws in Execution against you? No. All they desire is to restrain you from the Power of hurting your selves, or your Fellow-Subjects. Though Popery hath been gradually deformed into a System of meer human Policy, contrived to enslave the Majority of Mankind to the few, in opposition to the Religion preached by *Christ*, whose Kingdom was not of this World; though it hath been deformed by Transubstantiation, Masses, Auricular Confession, Reliques, Purgatory, Saint and Image Worship, Indulgences, the Deposing Doctrine, and the Doctrine of not keeping Faith with Hereticks; with a prodigious Heap of other irrational, unscriptural, and incredible Absurdities; though, I say, those things are so, and have been from time to time introduced in the darker Ages, and at length received their full Completion by the Decrees
of

of the Council of *Trent*, under the Penalties of Anathemas and eternal Condemnations to the Pit of Hell; yet, if the Professors of that Faith among us would be content to believe it, without a Principle or continued Practice of all fraudulent and forcible Means to propagate and establish it, they would be rather Objects of our Pity, than of our Resentment; their Fulness of Persuasion in those Tenets, without the Spirit of Mischief and Persecution, might be treated with a great deal of Allowance, and Christian Forbearance: Like Men disturbed in their Senses, while they are quiet and inoffensive, they ought to be tenderly used, not bound or roughly managed, till they begin to threaten Wrath and Violence; then indeed they ought to be restrained and secured from injuring others. If Papists, however violent in their Authority and Power abroad, could learn to be in legal Subjection here, and would give the like Security with other Subjects for their Faith and Allegiance to the Constitution, and renounce all foreign Jurisdiction and Dependance, and live in Peace and Charity with their Neighbours, enjoying their own Ease, and supporting the publick Good, their bare Religion, if it could be divested of Disloyalty and Cruelty, should not debar them of the common Rights, and equal Protection due to every free Subject of these Kingdoms. But if ever since the Reformation, *Poperie* has been struggling with, and opposing it, if the devout *Papist* can scarcely be a good Subject. —

Pap. You gave me Leave to interrupt you. Prove, Sir, that a devout *Papist* cannot be a good Subject.

Prot. I shall come to that Proof presently; in the mean time give me Leave to proceed; and, if I should omit that Topick, recal it to my Mind, and you shall have ample Satisfaction. If therefore, I say, the acting sincerely according to his Church Principles must of Necessity tend to endanger and subvert the Government, surely against such Men our Rulers are ordained, and are obliged to seek and secure the publick Safety, and keep within Bounds the common Adversary; or otherwise they betray the sacred Trust committed to them. It is in this View that Popery ought to be, and is taken by King and People. As Christians, we cannot but lament that intolerable Masses of Errors and Corruptions, of Superstitions and Idolatry, that have crept into their Creeds and Councils, and obtained an Authority, which they call infallible; but, as Subjects and Neighbours, our chief Concern is to view Popery in its Discipline and necessary

fary Practice, in its Dominion and Tyranny over the Rights, Liberties, and Lives of Mankind. Popish Recusancy has been always taken in this Light by our Legislature. No penal Laws have been enacted against such Recusants on Account of their bare Faith and Opinions, but on the Score of their Disaffection and Disobedience to the established Government, and their continual Practices to overthrow it. All the Laws made against them since the Accession of Queen *Elizabeth* to the Throne are enacted upon such Account. Thus the Act of Supremacy, 2 *Elizabeth* Chap. I. was *For putting away all usurped and foreign Powers and Authorities, and for disburthening the Subjects of divers great and intolerable Charges and Exactions, unlawfully taken and exacted by such foreign Power and Authority---* that is, the Act doth not meddle with speculative Tenets, but only tends to secure the Nation from *Popish Tyranny and Oppression*.

This is the only penal Law made in *Ireland* against the *Popists* till after the Completion of the Revolution. In *England*, indeed, the Statute of 5. *Eliz.* Chap. I. was made against them, not in the least for Matters of Faith, but to prevent dangerous Practices only, *even (as the Statute speaks) because of the Dangers by the Fautors of the usurped Power of the See of Rome, at this Time grown to marvellous Outrage, and licentious Boldness, and now requiring more sharp Restraint, and Correction of Laws, than hitherto in the Time of the Queen's most mild and merciful Reign hath been had, used, or established.* The next penal Law, 13 *Eliz.* Chap. II. was made against the same Adversaries to the publick Peace, and for Self-defence and Preservation of the Government in Church and State; *because divers seditious and evil-disposed People were minding very seditiously and unnaturally, not only to bring this Realm into Thraldom and Subjection to the See of Rome, but also to estrange and alienate the Minds and Hearts of sundry of her Majesty's Subjects from their dutiful Obedience, and to raise and stir Sedition and Rebellion within this Realm---to the Disturbance of the most happy Peace thereof.-----* And so in all the other wholesome Laws of that long and glorious Reign, the Restraints and Penalties were for the *Unruly and Disobedient*, for the *Conspirator and Traitor*. And when some Priests and Jesuits, and their bigotted Pupils, guilty of such Treasons, would have assumed the Glory of suffering for their Faith and Religion, that wise Statesman *Cecil*, wrote and published a Proof and Demonstration, that their Execution was not for *Religion*, but for *Treason*. So all subsequent
Laws

(b) Irish Remonstr. Dedication to the Catholics, p. vi.

Laws for restraining and disabling the *Papists* were not on the religious, but on the political and civil Account, and their known and avowed Enmity against the Government. And a truly rare Swan of your own Communion, I mean honest and loyal *Peter Walsh*, (b) ascribes the original Source of all the penal Laws made against the *Papists*, since the Reformation, to a System of Doctrines and Practices contrary to those manifestly recommended in the Gospel, and by the Christian Church for the first ten Ages.

If the like Reasons could be given for the Popish Persecutions abroad, namely, that all the Severity against the Reformed in any Country was for their Attachment to some foreign Interest, and for their continual Attempts towards bringing in that foreign Power, there would be an End of all the Complaints of Persecution. But the foreign *Protestants* were at no Enmity with the civil Powers, had no Principles of Disloyalty, no insolent Behaviour, sought no Liberty, but that of Conscience, to which they had a Claim, not only by the Laws of Nature and the Gospel, but by express Compacts from the Constitution they lived under. Thus the French *Protestants* had a Right to Protection by reiterated Royal Edicts, and were so far from suffering for Disaffection and Disservice to the King and Kingdom, that upon Principle and Way of Life they had been the most loyal and most useful Subjects. Were it possible for the *Papists* of this Country to be firmly united to the common Interests of it, and averse to all foreign Pretensions of usurping upon the Rights of King and People, the Legislature would not enact, nor the Administration inflict, any Punishment upon them purely for their Conscience and Religion, however erroneous, while they lived in Peace and due Allegiance. But such is the Complexion of Popery amongst us under a *Roman Priesthood* and an *Alien Pretender*, that they who would follow the Obligations of Conscience cannot be faithful to the legal Constitution, or pay the Crown a natural Allegiance. They refuse Oaths of Subjection, or if they take them by Constraint, they must seek Evasions, or sue for Dispensations or Absolutions in their holy Way. They must endeavour to introduce their own Religion, and always attempt to extirpate the *Northern Heresy*. From hence every Protestant Reign, since the *Reformation*, has been pushed at by *Popish Plots* and *Conspiracies*, and with double Force since the *Revolution*. For before that glorious Event they commonly agreed with the *Protestants* in the Title of the civil Sovereign, and contended only

only for an ecclesiastical Supremacy abroad, that is, a Right of the Pope in Spirituals, or at the highest, in order to Spirituals. Whereas of late they have brought forth the two Swords, namely, a pretended temporal Right of Sovereignty and an ecclesiastical Supremacy. Thus they are bound with those double Chains to be two fold more our Adversaries, and to seek all Opportunities of restoring their Prince, and their holy Father, especially as the one hath been the continual Guardian of the other, and hath given him a Place of Refuge in his Court and Bosom. And yet these Men, if they are restrained from doing Mischief, are the most ready to complain of suffering Persecution, which they impute to Conscience and Religion, though it were altogether for Faction and Rebellion; as if they had a Right to persecute others unto Death for what they acknowledge to be Matters of Faith only, and yet must be themselves exempted from the least Suffering for Matters of Fact and Practice, for combining to weaken and subvert that Government, that allows them Property and Protection. Surely they owe their Hopes of Success not so much to their own Strength, as to the Infatuation of many, who call themselves *Protestants*. Monstrous Infatuation! when *Protestants* act a Popish Part, and push on the Intrigues of *Rome*, and the *Pretender's* Court; who are Tools in the Hands of others to deface and destroy their own Church and Country, without reflecting, that when the Workmen look for their Wages, the Tools will be laid aside, or the utmost Indulgence they can expect will be to be received as penitent Profelytes of the Church of *Rome*, with Leave to enjoy their Love of rigid Principles.

In all the *Popish Plots* and *Conspiracies* nothing can be more provoking than to see them justify and sanctify them, if they succeed, and if they fail, to palliate, deny, and ridicule them. It would carry me too far to go into the Proof of these their Arts. Two short Instances may suffice, namely in the *Gun-Powder* Treason, and the *Irish* Massacre. The first was discovered and prevented, the other had its terrible Effect. Yet the *Popish* Writers wipe away the one, and extenuate the other. The Writer of *A View of English History* has with unparalleled Assurance cast the *Powder-Plot* upon the Intrigues of Lord *Cecil*, and pretends, "that it was projected by him for the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, though not executed till after her Death, when his Lordship drew in a few Catholicks to burn their Fingers."

Your Friend Mr. *Jones* (i) has pursued the same (i) *Exhausted* *Scent*; though both to their Confusion may know, that the p. 53, &c.

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Conspirators confessed that hellish Plot on their Deaths, without pretending in the least to impeach the Lord *Cecil*. The latter of these Writers with an assured Front asserts, that it could not be called a *general Plot* of the Papists, because only thirteen Persons were engaged in it, and those Desperadoes. But surely it cannot be a necessary Consequence, that because only thirteen are discovered in a Plot, that no more are embarked in it. It is well known, that upon such Occasions many have escaped Discoveries, some by Art, some by Favour, some by Fortune, and not a few by taking off the Witnesses by Bribery. Yet I fear, he is out in his Numbers. The best History of that Conspiracy was written by Dr. *Barlow*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, and therein are more than double the Examiner's Numbers discovered to have a Hand in it, or to be knowing of, or aiding or abetting it, and many of those Gentlemen of good Houses, and considerable Estates, not Men of desperate Fortunes, as he boldly advances, such as Sir *Everard Digby*, Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Edward Bainham*, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Percy*, a Cadet of the House of *Northumberland*, *Francis Tresham*, *Humphry* or *Stephen Littleton*, *John Talbot* of *Grafton*, *Robert Winter*, *Thomas Winter*, *Robert Keys*, *John Wright*, *Christopher Wright*, *John Grant*, and *Ambrose Rookwood*, besides *Guido Fawkes*, a Soldier of Fortune, and *Thomas Bates*; to whom add nine Jesuits at home and abroad; whom sure Mr. *Jones* would not number among the thirteen profligate Papists; and thus the Account will stand in a much fouler Light, than he would willingly have it appear. Besides, their Party was ready to rise through the Country as soon as the execrable Act was perpetrated; and the Day after the Discovery eighty appeared in open Rebellion; but before their Numbers could increase, were timely dispersed by a Posse raised by the Sheriff of *Worcestershire*. It is much more strange, that the *Irish* Massacre in 1641, executed with such a vast Effusion of Blood, not capable of being denied, should be so softened and extenuated. that one would think it justified by the Prefacer to the Earl of *Clan-*

(k) P. 17, *rickard's* Memoirs(k); and you, Doctor, have marched a Step
&c. Dub. further in your Dialogue, wherein you endeavour to throw
Edit. the Odium of that Rebellion, and the first Massacres, upon
the Protestants. Surely such Books were calculated for some
expected Season of Conspiracy and Murder. But you shall
hear more of this when we come to unravel the Body of
your Dialogue,

Pap.

Pap. Have you done, Sir, with this Branch of your Undertaking, and is it seasonable to put you in mind of your Promise, that a *Roman-Catholick*, if he be true to his Church Principles, cannot without Difficulty be looked upon as a good Subject to a Protestant Prince?

Prot. I am not yet ripe for that Proof; but believe me you shall be satisfied in it to the full. ----- I proceeded no further than the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* to shew. that penal Laws enacted against Papists were not on Account of their Religion, but Disaffection. I shall now bring this Argument down from the Revolution.

The first penal Law made (1) after that Period was to (1) Anno restrain foreign Education, whereby is declared, *That Chil- 7 Will. 3. dren so educated have engaged themselves in foreign Interests, Chap. 4. and been prevailed upon to forget their natural Allegiance, and the Affection which they owe to the established Religion, and Laws of their Country, and returning so evilly disposed, have been the Movers of many dangerous Seditions, and oftentimes of open Rebellion.* So that to prevent *Rebellions* was the Cause of this Law, and not because the Persons so educated were Papists.

Another Law (m) passed the same Session for disarming (m) Chap. Papists, not for their Religion, but for preserving the publick 5. Peace, and quieting the Kingdom from all Dangers of future Insurrection and Rebellion.

Another Act (n) made at this Time was for banishing the (n) Chap. regular Popish Clergy, and all such exercising Ecclesiastical 26. Jurisdiction, because the Peace and publick Safety of the Kingdom was in danger from the great Numbers of such Regular Clergy, who not only endeavour to withdraw the Subjects from their Obedience, but do daily move Sedition and Rebellion, to the great Hazard of the Ruin and Desolation of the Kingdom.

Another Act (o) made to prevent Popish Priests from coming (o) Anno into the Kingdom was, because they came with an Intent to 2 Anne, stir up the Popish Subjects to Rebellion, to the Hazard of the chap. 3. publick Peace.

It would be too tedious to go through the several penal Laws made against Papists since the Revolution; and the more so, as they are all grounded upon the same invariable Maxim, namely, upon Account of Dangers from their Rebellions, and Disaffection to the established Government, and not on the Score of Religion. And how tenderly and laxly
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have these Laws been always executed I appeal to your own Experience.

Pap. Though we complain of the Severity of those Laws, yet, I confess, we cannot say much of any Rigour in the Execution of them. But what say you to those Laws that relate to Education and Property?

Prot. The former Topick I have touched on before, and shewed, that the Law made to prevent foreign Education was intended to take away the Opportunities of poisoning the Youth of the Kingdom with Principles of Disobedience to the Government. Yet I much question whether one Instance can be shewn of the Execution of that Law. As to Acts made in relation to Property I cannot say so much; because some of them, particularly the *Gavel-kind* Act, are so contrived by the Wisdom of the Legislature that they execute themselves. Other Acts relating to Purchases made, or Leasestaken, by Papists, are so eluded by Perjuries, Trusts in Protestants Names, and other Contrivances, that they are of little Significance. It is a known Maxim, that Power is a Concomitant of Property; and therefore, as the Papists of this Kingdom have, ever since the Reformation, been vigilant Enemies to the Religion established, and have endeavoured by all ways and Means, by Intrigues, Plots, Rebellions, Massacres, and introducing foreign Forces, to undermine it privately, and to destroy it publicly, it cannot be thought an unjust Step to endeavour by all political Ways, and by soft and gentle Degrees, to crumble and break in Pieces their Estates, and consequently their Power; and even these Laws are founded upon the same Principles as those before remarked on, namely, the publick Safety, and to secure the Protestant Government from the avowed enmity of the Papists, who with Difficulty can be faithful Subjects to a Protestant King, if they zealously adhere to their Religion.

Pap. Ay, this is the Point I would fain have cleared up; for to me it seems to be a Paradox.

Prot. As much a Paradox as you take it to be, I think I shall make it evident even to you, not only from the Principles of Popery, but from the Practices of its Professors. Have you any Confidence, Sir, in the Doctrines of the *Romish* Faith, in the Validity of the Bulls and decretal Epistles of Popes, which are made the principal Part of the Canon Law, and in the Decrees of Councils?

Pap.

Pap. I wonder you would ask such a Question; I could not be of that Communion without believing them, and confiding in them.

Prot. In Consequence of what you allow I doubt not to prove, that the *Romish* Religion, as it now stands, and has done for some Hundreds of Years past, these Bulls and Rescripts of Popes, and Decrees of Councils, and the Books and established Opinions of your Divines, must disturb all Civil Governments, and especially those that they are pleased to denominate Heretical; and that those, who are actuated by them, or whose Consciences are under the Direction of *Romish* Casuists, or who have heartily embraced the Principles of that Religion, can give no Security, that they will not disturb such Government, though it affords them Protection.

Pap. I must tell you, Sir, this Point ought to be clearly demonstrated, or you will be taken for a Slanderer.

Prot. I think I shall be able to give such Proofs of this Point, as shall tread upon the heels of a Demonstration; at least such, as none but those, who are actuated by a blind and bigotted Prejudice, shall deny; and this I shall ground upon your Concessions. For where can we look for your Principles but in your Councils, Decretals, and Books of your Divines? To which if historical Proofs of authentick Writers be added, in my Opinion the Case will be pretty clear. I shall blend these Authorities together as they occur, and shall begin with an early Piece of History, which has not been yet controverted that I can find.

In the eighth Century (*p*) *Rome* and the *Roman* Dutchie (*p*) *Sigon.*
were wrested from the *Grecians* by Reason of their abominable Herefy and Impiety, and were seized by the Pope. This Herefy of *Leo Isaurus*, which lost him the Empire of the West, was *his opposing Idolatry, forbidding the Adoration of Images, and pulling them down every where.* Pope Gregory II. perswaded the *Italians* to a Revolt, and absolved them from their Oaths of Obedience to their Emperor; whereupon they transferred their Allegiance by new Oaths to the Pope. This is the Title by which the Pope holds *Rome* and the *Roman* Dominions at present, namely by Rebellion, and tyrannical Invasion of his Sovereign's Dominions. For as to the Donation of *Constantine* it has been over and over proved to be a foul and unskilful Forgery; and those who would support it may as well undertake to shoe a Goose. See *Laurentius Valla*, Secretary to the Pope, and Canon of the Lateran Church,
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(q) Oper. Church, (q) who died in 1465, upon this Argument, who
 p. 761 will give you ample Satisfaction. "By this Action of the
 (r) Annals "Pope (says *Baronius* (r)) his Holiness left to Posterity a
 ad An. "worthy Example, that Heretical Princes should not be suf-
 730. "fered to reign in the Church of *Christ*, if, being often
 "warned, they persist in their Error." *Gregory* the III^d,
 next Successor to the former Pope, pursued his Steps for the
 (s) Vit. same Cause; "because (says *Platina*, (s) who was Secre-
 Pontif. p. "tary to Pope *Sixtus* the IVth) the Emperor tore down
 99. Images out of the Churches."

In the XII Century, about the Year 1160, the *Waldenses* of
France (Hereticks so called by the Church of *Rome*, because
 they reformed themselves from the Abominations of Popery)
 started up, and soon after followed the *Albigenses*, who re-
 formed upon the same Model, whose Opinions increased
 mightily; insomuch that the Church of *Rome* began to look
 upon them as Hereticks, who smelt of the Fagot. Early in
 (t) Con- the XIIIth Century, *Raymond*, Count of *Tholouse*, (t) a So-
 cil Tom. vereign Prince, was excommunicated by Pope *Innocent* the
 XI. p. 35 III^d, because he was a Favourer of Hereticks; and the Pope
 gave his Dominions to any Person who would seize them. In
 the Year 1210 the Citizens of *Tholouse* were, by a Council
 held at *Avignon*, (u) excommunicated; because they had neg-
 (u) Ibid. lected to perform what they had promised concerning the Ex-
 pulsion of Hereticks.

Peter, King of *Arragon*, became a Solicitor to a Council
 convened at *la Vaur* in 1213, in behalf of the said Count
Raymond, that he might be received into the Church, and for
 the Counts of *Comminges* and *Foix*, that they might be re-
 stored to their own again. To this Petition the Council an-
 (w) Ibid. swered, (w) "that the Count *Comminges* had made a League
 p. 83. "with Hereticks, and their Favourers, and that the Count of
 " *Foix* was a Receiver of them, and therefore his Majesty
 "ought not to intercede for them, till they had satisfied the
 "Church." Upon this Refusal King *Peter* sided with them,
 endeavouring to obtain by Force what by Petition he could
 not compass.

In 1214 a Council (x) of five Archbishops, and twenty-
 eight Bishops assembled at *Mountpelier*, who chose the Count
 of *Mountfort* Prince and Monarch of the Dominions of the
 Count of *Tholouse*, the before-mentioned Favourer of the *Al-*
 (x) Ibid. bigenses, desiring the Pope's Legate to confirm their Choice;
 p. 104. who acquainted the Pope with their Request, and his Holiness
 committed to the Count of *Mountfort* the Custody, and al-
 lowed

lowed him the Benefit of those Dominions, referring the Title to the Decision of the Council of *Lateran* summoned to meet shortly after.

Accordingly the fourth Council of *Lateran* (y) met in (y) Bin. 1215 under Pope *Innocent* III. consisting of the Patriarchs of *Jerusalem* and *Constantinople*, the Deputies of those of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, seventy Archbishops, four hundred Bishops, twelve Abbots, eight hundred Conventual Priors, the Embassadors of the Emperors of the East and West, and those of the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, *England*, *Jerusalem*, and *Cyprus*; so that if any Council may be called *OEcumenical* this may lay in a good Claim to it. This celebrated Council was chiefly convened to suppress the before-mentioned Heresy of the *Albigenses*; and perhaps to supply the Infirmities of the former Councils, which were only looked upon as Provincial Assemblies. They decreed, "that if any Temporal Lord, being admonished by the Church, should neglect to purge his Territories from Heretical Pravity, he should be excommunicated by his Metropolitan and Suffragans; and if he should neglect to give Satisfaction in a Year, it should be signified to the Pope, that he from thenceforth might pronounce his Subjects discharged from their Obedience, and expose his Territories to be enjoyed by Catholics, who, having exterminated the Hereticks, should possess them without all Contradiction, and conserve them in the Purity of the Faith."

Many other Decrees of Councils have been made to the like Purpose, which I would not teize you to mention.

Pap. I apprehend that these, and all other Decrees of Councils of thelike Import, have been made only in *Terrorem*, without any Design to carry them into Execution.

Prot. What a miserable Shift is this? In *Terrorem*! Terrible indeed have they been in their Effects, and suitable thereto the Pope hath, from Time to Time, proceeded vigorously in depriving Civil Governors of their Dominions, as being Hereticks, or Favourers of Hereticks, or as neglecting to extirpate Hereticks out of their Dominions, of which I have given you some Instances before, and shall now produce a few more.

Henry III. of *France*, though a Papist, was sparing of the Blood of his Protestant Subjects, and refused to declare his Successor, though a Protestant, incapable of the Succession. Whereupon Pope *Sixtus* V. in 1585, excommunicated him

(z) **Thunian. Lib. 32. Papæ Bulla Edit. 1585.** him, (z) as a manifest Favourer of Hereticks, and granted nine Years of Indulgence to any of his Subjects who would bear Arms against him, and absolved them all from their Allegiance to him. This caused his Subjects to rebel, and Friar *Clement* to murder him in 1589.

His next Successor, *Henry IV.* though, to make himself easy in the Throne, he had submitted to be reconciled to Popery, was attempted to be murdered by *Chatel*, a Student in the College of the Jesuits, and afterwards, with more diabolical Success, was stabbed by *Ravillac*, a Monk, in 1610, (a) because he had granted by the Edict of *Nantz* a Toleration to his Protestant Subjects.

(a) **Mezeray. tom. 3. p. 659.**

Perhaps these foreign Instances may be not so cogent as some nearer Home.

King *Henry VIII.* having thrown off the Pope's Supremacy, his Holiness, in 1538, fulminated his Sentence of Excommunication and Interdict against him, and the whole Kingdom (of which he made the Emperor the Executor) and discharged his Subjects from their Allegiance to him, which was followed by many Rebellions both in *England* and *Ireland*.

(b) **Bullar. Rom. tom. 2. p. 303.**

In 1570 Pope *Pius V.* declared (b) Queen *Elizabeth* " an Heretick, and a Favourer of Hereticks, and for that Cause " deprived of all Dominion, Dignity, and Privilege whatsoever, her Subjects absolved from their Oaths, and from " all Duty, Allegiance, and Obedience, by such Oaths due " unto her." From which Time her Dominions were almost perpetually torn with Conspiracies and Rebellions, and by Attempts to introduce foreign Powers.

I have mentioned the Gun-Powder-Plot against King (c) **P. 15.** *James* the First before, (c) and shall say nothing of it further; but in the room thereof shall lay down some of the Opinions, and wholesome Doctrines of your Divines, Canonists, and Historians, which perhaps may help to remove your Objection, that these Decrees of Councils were made in *Terrorem*, and not with any Design to carry them into Execution.

In Confirmation of the Bulls and Decretal Epistles of your (d) **Chap. 31.** Popes, *Bellarmin*, in his Treatise against *Barclay*, (d) asserts, " that they, *i. e.* the Papal Bulls and Decrees, are sufficient " to make that to be Sin, which is not Sin, or not to be " Sin, which is Sin." Undoubtedly this Opinion, so confidently and impiously laid down, was no mean Reason with the *Irish* Ecclesiasticks to incite their Countrymen to perpetrate

rate those inhumane and monstrous Massacres on the Protestants in 1641. Again, the same Cardinal (e) and his Brother *Baronius* (f) teach, "that the Pope may do with any King, as *Jehoida* the High-Priest did with *Athaliah*, (g) *i. e.* he may deprive him first of his Kingdom and then of his Life." The former of these Authors elsewhere (b) indeed gives his Opinion more like a Jesuit, and a Man of Distinctions, in these Words. "The Pope does not allow you not to obey your King; but he makes him, that was your King, not to be your King." As much as to say, when the Pope has done his Part, then you are free to do yours. From *Gregory* the VIIth downwards such a Trade was driven of deposing Kings, that no weak Prince could wear his Crown, but at the Pope's Courtesy: And that it might never be otherwise, Pope *Boniface* the VIIIth declares, (i) "that it is absolutely necessary to Salvation for every humane Creature to be subject to the Bishop of Rome." Agreeable to this Doctrine the great Canonist *Lancelottus* teaches, (k) "that the Pope may depose Kings and Emperors, and transfer their Kingdoms and Empires from one Line to another." Which wholesome Doctrine, no Doubt, as well as the rest of his Book, Pope *Pius* the IVth has made authentick by his unerring Approbation. Your Divines have generally owned this Doctrine, and many of them have written large Books in Defence of it. It rests upon you to shew when and where they were condemned, what Justice has been executed on the Authors, what purgatory Index has censured their Writings. Nay, if you will deal honestly, you cannot but confess, that their Works are generally approved, and that their Persons are held in Admiration among those, who are the Guides of Lay-Mens Consciences. Again, who ever condemned your great Schoolmen, *Suaroz* and *Valentia*; of whom the first writes against King *James* the First, "that a King canonically excommunicated may be deposed and killed by any Man whatsoever;" and the other, (m) "that an Heretical Prince may by the Pope's Sentence be deprived of his Life, much more of his Estate, and of all Superiority over others." And now, Sir, I have done with taking your Out-works, and shall proceed presently to the main Body of your Dialogue. You have owned your Acquiescence in the Doctrines of the Romish Church, in the Bulls and Rescripts of Popes, in the Decrees of General Councils, and in the Opinions of your Divines and Schoolmen grounded thereon. I desire now to be satisfied in one Question.

P. sp.

(e) De Roman. Pontif. lib. v. cap. 8.
(f) Annals ad an. 800. sect. 10.
(g) 2 Kings ch. ii.
(b) 2 Chron. ch. 23.
(i) Barclaium chap. 3.
(k) Ex-1 trav. de majoritate & obed. sect. 1.
(m) unam sanctam. (l) In Regem. mag. Brit. lib. vi. cap. 4. sect. 20.
(n) Disput. in Thomam. 1. quæst. 12. sect. 6. lib. 6.

Pap. What is it ?

Prot. Whether you believe our gracious King to be an Heretick ? Or whether you believe the Protestants of the Church of *Ireland* to be Hereticks ?

Pap. The first Part of your Question is not fair ; and as to the other, I must doubtless believe the Protestants of the Church of *Ireland* to be Hereticks, since the Church of *Rome* ranks them under that Denomination.

Prot. Then it is an unavoidable Consequence, that since the Bulls and Rescripts of your Popes, the Decrees of your General Councils, the Opinions of your Divines, Canonists, and Schoolmen, and your concurrent Practice, all tend to discharge the Subjects of Hereticks from Allegiance to their natural Princes, *that a devout and sincere Papist (I will not say all, some of them having more enlarged Minds) cannot well be a faithful Subject to a Protestant Prince ;* and in Consequence of all, *that the Allegation of your Advocate (as you pretend in your Advertisement) that the Papists have been so long condemned without Truth and Mercy, must fall to the Ground, and must by all unbiassed Men be looked upon as an impudent Assertion.*

Pap. I have not Leisure to examine, whether your Quotations be just ; but at present I shall take them for granted.

Prot. It is wonderful strange then, that rational Men do not distrust the Merits of a Cause, which is supported by such Bulls, Decrees, and Opinions, and the Consequences of them, Fire and Faggot, Swords, and Inquisitions, instead of the Weapons used by the Apostle *St. Paul*, (n) which he declares, *are not carnal, and which the Lord hath given for Edification, and not for Destruction.*

(n) 2 Cor.
x. 4. 8.

Pap. Should we condemn, with you, these Doctrines of Cruelty, yet we have no other Choice left ; the Antiquity of our Religion, and the Novelty of yours, must for ever keep us asunder. I would ask you, Sir, where was your Religion before *Henry* the VIII, or before *Martin Luther* ?

Prot. I am astonished to hear such a Question from a Man of Sense. Yet I need not. For your Priests, and Men of some Learning, make use of the same Argument to captivate and delude the Vulgar ; and the Vulgar use it as the only Topick they are taught to delude their Neighbours, and one another. I would ask you, Sir, one Question in my Turn, which I am confident is a pertinent Answer to yours, and of as much Weight. Where was your Face before it was washed ?

Pap.

Pap. How ridiculous is this! where should it be but where it is at present?

Prot. Yet you will allow me, that since your Face has been washed, it is cleaner, freer from Spots and Blemishes, and looks more amiable. It is so with the fair Face of Religion. *Christ* left it pure and spotless to his Apostles, and they handed it down to their Successors in the same immaculate condition, in which it continued for some Ages; till at length (as *Christ* foretold in his Parable of the Tares °) “ Though the Husbandman sowed good Seed ° *Matth.*
 “ in his Field, yet while he slept his Enemy came, and *xiii. 24.*
 “ sowed Tares among the Wheat, and went his way. But
 “ when the Blade was sprung up, and brought forth Fruit,
 “ then appeared the Tares also. And when the Servants
 “ of the Husbandman applied to their Master, whether
 “ they should go and gather up the Tares, he said, nay,
 “ lest while you gather up the Tares, you root up also
 “ the Wheat with them; but let them both grow until
 “ the Harvest; and in the time of Harvest I will say to
 “ the Reapers, gather ye together first the Tares, and
 “ bind them in Bundles to burn them; but gather the
 “ Wheat into my Barn.” This is a plain condemnation of those Errors and Tares, which the Enemy of Mankind, (i. e. the worldly Pride, Ambition, and Covetousness of Popes) in the Days of Darkness and ignorance sowed among the Wheat, i. e. among the chosen Seed, which at Harvest (i. e. in the fulness of Time at the Reformation) our blessed Saviour directed to be separated from the good Seed. And this is what the Reformers did; they rooted up all the Tares, i. e. the Errors of Popery, and gathered the Wheat into the Barn. They washed away the Spots and Blemishes, with which Popery had in the dark Ages deformed the fair Face of the Religion of *Christ*.

Pap. But, Sir, this does not come up to the Point I started of the Antiquity of the Church of *Rome*, and of the Novelty of the Reformed Church. Where was the Church of *Christ* distinct from the Church of *Rome* before the Protestant Reformation? If you do not shew that, you shew nothing to the purpose.

Prot. I must again answer you this Question by asking you another. Where was the Church of *God* before *Abraham* was called? For *Joshua* ¹ tells the *Israelites*, “ That ² Chap.
 “ your Fathers dwelt on the other side of the Flood in old *xxiv. 2:*
 “ times, even *Terah*, the Father of *Abraham*, and the
 D “ Father

† Judith,
v. 6, 7.

“ Father of *Nachor*, and they served other Gods.” To to the same purpose is *Achior*’s Speech to *Holofernes* in his March to destroy the Children of *Israel*, who had fortified the Passes in the Mountains. “ This People, says he †, “ sojourned heretofore in *Mesopotamia*, because they “ would not follow the Gods of their Fathers, which were “ in the Land of *Chaldea*. For they left the way of their “ Ancestors, and worshipped the God of Heaven, the “ God whom they knew.” From hence, Sir, may be gathered, that before God called *Abraham* to reform his Church, it was corrupted with Superstition and Idolatry, as the Church of *Rome* was before the Reformation, and is at this Day. Antiquity gives no Sanction to Error, though it may make it more difficult to remove, as inveterate Habits by time become a part of the Constitution, which it is next to an Impossibility to eradicate. A *Heathen* may make the same Objections to a *Jew*, as you do to the Reformers : Where was your Religion before *Moses* ? And a *Jew* might say to a *Christian*, where was the true Church of God distinct from the *Jewish* Church before the coming of *Christ* ? Accordingly, when the *Pharisees* examined the

† John ix.
29.

Man, whom *Jesus* had restored to his Sight, they said †, “ we know that God spake unto *Moses* ; as for this Fellow (i. e. *Jesus*) we know not from whence he is.” St. Paul

† Acts

xvii. 18.

was accused † by the *Athenians*, as a setter forth of strange Gods, because he preached the then novel Doctrine of *Christ*. Was then the Christian Religion erroneous, or the Invention of Men, because it could not boast of an Antiquity equal to the Religions of the *Jews* and *Heathens* ? You will not say it. The same Argument occurs to the Novelty you object to the Reformation.

Pap. Yet methinks you ought to shew when these great Errors and Corruptions first crept into the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* ; otherwise your Allegations must be considered as Calumnies.

Prot. Did you never see a Man, who in his youth had black Hair, and in his old Age was whiteheaded ? Suppose I should affirm, that his Head is still black, and challenge you to shew the particular Day or Year when the first Hair changed into white. Would you answer me, or laugh at my folly ? In the same manner, to point out the particular Day or Year when the gross Errors of the Church of *Rome* were first introduced into it, might, perhaps be a difficult Task. But know, that these Tares were sown when

when the Husbandman was asleep, i. e. in the dark Ages, when the Watchmen were remiss, and unmindful of their Charge. It could easily be shewn when the Errors complained of were not the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, and from such negative Arguments it would seem to follow, that they are Novelties, and not the Doctrines preached by *Christ* and his *Apostles*.

It may be shewn, that the notion of a gross Corporal Presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, licked afterwards into *Transubstantiation*, was not known to the early Fathers, nor introduced into the Church till about the middle of the 9th Century, and was then opposed by a Cloud of learned Men. That it received some countenance by a Council held at the *Lateran* in 1215. yet it remained a Problematical Question till the meeting of the packed Council of *Trent* in 1545, when it was fully determined as an Article of Faith, under the Pains of Anathema, and of eternal Condemnation to Hell, and reduced into the System of a new Creed by Pope *Pius IV.* in 1564.

The mutilating of the Sacrament by denying the Cup to the Laity, and the Doctrine of Concomitancy attendant thereon, was never heard of in the early Ages of the Church, except among the *Manichean* Hereticks, and was then condemned as a Sacrilege by a very good and religious Pope, namely *Gelasius*, who died in 498. But the Council of *Constance* convened in 1415 decreed, that the Sacrament should be administered in one kind only, notwithstanding the Institution of *Christ*, that it should be administered in both kinds. The Council of *Trent* confirmed this Decree, and it was made an Article of Faith in the new Creed of Pope *Pius IV.*

The Celibacy of the Clergy was first commanded by Pope *Hildebrand*, who died in 1084, before which the Clergy had Wives without any restriction; and yet this Papal Command was not universally obeyed for many Centuries after, as may be made appear by a competent number Records.

The locking up of the Scriptures from the Laity, another Innovation on the Commands of *Christ* and the *Apostles*, is also a novel Doctrine. We can trace the contrary use as far down as the 10th or dark Age, when probably it was introduced.

The Sacrifice of the Mass, the worshipping of Images and Saints, of the Virgin *Mary*, and of Relicks, the

Doctrine of Purgatory, and many other Articles in your Church, may easily be made appear to be Innovations, and not warranted by the Scriptures, or the Practices of the antient Fathers: And from thence I would deduce this Corollary, that the Reformers, who only swept away the Errors introduced into the Church in the dark Ages, may with great Propriety be said to embrace and uphold the Old Religion, and that the Papists, who from time to time introduced those Errors, may with the same Propriety be called a very new Religion, which takes its Existence only from the Council of *Trent*, little more than 200 Years ago. Which then, tell me, is the new, and which is the old Religion? But this matter is foreign to the Subject in hand, which, with your Pleasure, I will now resume.

Pap. With all my Heart. Proceed where you left off.

Prot. I am at length, Doctor, arrived at the Body of your Dialogue, in which you have given me some Work: But I hope to clear all to your Satisfaction, or at least to the conviction of those, whose Judgments may be warped by your plausible Arguments, which will appear to have no Weight when stripped of the Disguise with which you have covered them.

Pap. Ay, that will be something.

Prot. Lest the Memory of the Reader should be treacherous, you take care to inculcate ^a the dutiful and submissive Behaviour of the *Irish* Papists for more than 50 Years past, which you had just before done by as many Words in your Advertisement. To this I have given an Answer before ^b, and therefore shall say nothing of it here. But you tack to it a Quære or two which require some Notice.

^a Dial. P.
3.

^b Answ.
p. 8.

“ Why (say you) is the Rebellion of 1641, with so many
 “ unjust and inhumane exaggerations at this time trumped
 “ up against them? i. e. the Papists. Why, when no
 “ present cause of Complaint can be assigned against that
 “ People, do we thus unmercifully rip up old Sores,
 “ and revive obsolete Quarrels, to bring an Odium upon
 “ them, which we (i. e. the Protestants) allow they never personally deserved?” These, Sir, are the same Ideas, and almost the same Words, used by your Friend *Jones* in his *Examiners*; which gives me room to conclude (as I observed before) that you both clubbed to furnish out this Dialogue, and those Papers. I will frankly tell you the Reason, why old Sores are ripped up, and obsolete Quarrels revived; that it is not done out of any Prejudice

dice to the Persons of those, who may be Descendants of the cruel Actors in the execrable Massacre of 1641 (who I pray to God may be always peaceable Neighbours and good Subjects) but it is to keep in perpetual Memory the miraculous Mercies of the Almighty, and by Gratitude to acknowledge them by solemn Festivals. *As a Memorial of the Deliverance of the People of Israel out of Egypt was the Passover^c instituted; and the Feast of Purim was to the^c Exod. same end appointed, when the Jews were delivered from the 12. wicked Conspiracy of Haman, and that those Days of Purim should not fail from among the Jews, nor the Memorial of them perish from their Seed^d; that is, that the Memory of^d Hester, their Deliverance should be preserved for ever. The Case ix. 28.* is parallel between that People of God and us; and we should be ungrateful to the Divine Majesty, and undeserving of his Protection, should we suffer the anniversary Solemnities established on this Occasion to go into disuse. Then what would be the Consequence? Those of the *Popish* Religion would have the whole Game to themselves. Some of them already deny it to be a Rebellion, and call it *justum sanctissimumque decennii bellum*, — a just and *Vindictæ* most holy ten Years War. Others justify it, and others re-*ver-* tort it on the Protestants in many of their Books, of which *sæ.* p. 1. one Example is given in the Collection of Murders annexed to your Dialogue. If then the Anniversary established on this occasion was once abolished, the Evidence of the Fact would be in a great measure removed, or forgotten, and a little Confidence would bear down the Truth.

Ay! but says your pretended Protestant Advocate further, “ I can never look into those bitter Invectives, that
 “ are daily coming out against the *Papists*, without an
 “ Apprehension, that they were designed to *spirit up their*
 “ *numerous and powerful Enemies to extirpate*, by all pos-
 “ sible means, that useful and inoffensive Set of Men from
 “ the Face of the Earth.” Again, this is *Jones*, with a small variation in Phrase. “ For these modern Pamphle-
 “ teers (says he^f) do manage the Cause of Religion with^f Exam. 1
 “ such Scurrility, that they appear rather as Leaders of a p. 6.
 “ furious Mob, breathing nothing but *Massacre* and *Plun-*
 “ *der*, than sober Advocates for the Christian Faith.” And
 again^g, “ Considering with what Industry these Defamers^g Ibid. p.
 “ misrepresentations of the *Roman* Catholicks have spread⁹
 “ among the common People, it can be attributed to no-
 “ thing else but Providence, and the Wisdom of the Lord
 “ Licutenant,

“ Lieutenant, Privy Council, and Parliament, that they
 “ are not torn to pieces, or stoned as they walk the
 “ Streets.”

Ans.

9.

In answer to these Allegations, I freely admit, that the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland* are an useful Set of People, and so are all the Inhabitants in this or any other Country, who either increase or consume the Products of the Earth, who enlarge or encourage Manufactures or Trade, or are the means of bringing Wealth into the Kingdom. How they are inoffensive has been examined before¹; and I hope they will continue so, both for their own sakes and ours. But when you mention Extirpation, and your Colleague throws in his Dose of *Massacres, plundering, stoning, tearing to pieces*, and the like, I would have you both know, that Protestants disavow such Principles, and abominate such Practices, being influenced only by the meek Spirit of the Gospel. They do not desire even to restrain you from the free Exercise of your Religion in a modest and private way. All they covet is to pare your Nails, to prevent your doing your selves or your Neighbours Mischief, and the mild, or rather non-execution of the Laws against you makes this Truth evident. God of his infinite Mercy grant, that the Indulgence shewn you, and which no good Man would covet to restrain, may always meet with due returns of Gratitude. But, Sir, when you cast such Reflections, I would crave the liberty of retorting on you the Conduct of those of Mr Jones's Coat, and your Principles in the Rebellion of 1641, and when either of you hint at Persecution, Extirpation, Fire, Flames, or Fagots, I would turn you back to the Days of Queen Mary, and desire you both, and your Popish-Protestant-Advocate to compare those cloudy Times with the present Sun-shine.

Pap. I confess we cannot complain of any severe execution of the Laws, but of the Severity of the Laws themselves.

Ibid.

Prot. You have had an Answer to this Point already¹; and I believe there is no Nation to be found in the World, where a difference is not made between the national established Religion, and other Professions, which are only indulged by Connivance, and have no share in the Enjoyment of national Privileges, such as Preferments in the State, Offices, or the like; insomuch that upon this Topic you have no just Cause of Complaint.

Pap.

Pap. But what, Sir, can you say to the confident Assertions and notorious Falshoods of the Earl of *Clarendon*², & Dial. P. which all our Historians, Preachers, and Libellers, have 5. taken up from him upon Trust, and vended as a certain Truth upon all occasions, wherein that unhappy Affair (i. e. the Rebellion of 1641) is mentioned.

Prot. Say, Doctor! Why I say the Earl of *Clarendon* hath told nothing but Truth, and strict Truth, which I will demonstrate, I will not say to you, but to any unprejudiced Man. You mention that unhappy Affair, meaning the Rebellion, in very soft Terms, as if it was only an insignificant Scuffle; and I will do you justice to believe you think it unhappy, because it was not successful; if it had, you would have gloried in it as a noble Effort for recovering the Splendor of your Religion, and your Estates justly forfeited for numerous Rebellions. But let us examine what Lord *Clarendon* says, and what you object to him. It would have been fair to have given a full Quotation of what this noble Historian says, which would help to establish the Point he drives at: But that Omission of yours I will supply. “It is not (says he¹) the Bishop’s¹ Ir. Reb. “(i. e. *French*, titular Bishop of *Ferns*) calling the ten P. 67. “Years War in *Ireland sanctum justissimumque bellum*,—a “holy and most just War, or his saying, that they had “undergone the most constant and severe Persecution for “the Profession of the Catholick Religion for the space of “13 Years, that can make the happy and blessed Condi- “tion forgotten, which that Nation was possessed of, be- “fore their own unskilful Rage and Fury brought this “War upon them. They have now leisure enough, and “I hope, Spirits better prepared to value the wonderful “Plenty, Peace, and Security, they enjoyed till the Year “1640 (it should be 1641) when they wantonly and dis- “dainfully flung those Blessings from them; the increase “of Traffick, improvement of Land, erection of Build- “ings, and whatsoever else might be profitable and plea- “sant to a People, which were Advantages and Orna- “ments, that the Policy and Industry of that Nation were “utterly unacquainted with, till they were acquired by “the Skill and Labour of the *English* planted, and living “charitably, friendly, and hospitably among them. Tax- “es, Tallages, and Contributions, were things hard- “ly known to them by their Names. And then he pro- “ceeds in your Words, whatsoever their Land, Labour,

“ or

“ or Industry produced was their own, being not only
 “ free from fear of having it taken from them by the King
 “ upon any pretence whatsoever, without their own Con-
 “ sent, but also secured against Thieves and Robbers by
 “ the due execution of good Laws, that Men might and
 “ did travel over all Parts of the Kingdom with great
 “ Sums of Money unguarded and unconcealed.” Here
 is a fair Picture in Miniature of the happy Condition of
 Ireland before the Rebellion of 1641, a Picture that all
 cotemporary Writers agree in; except those who have hard
 Foreheads, and whom a little thing will not make blush,
 namely, such as the titular Bishop of *Ferns* before mentioned,
 and others of the like Stamp, whose interests induced them
 to deny plain and manifest demonstrations. I shall not follow
 your Example in citing none but *Papish* Writers, as you pre-
 tend to cite none but Protestants, and that for a reason very
 obvious, namely, because they cannot agree among them-
 selves; and to use the words of a writer of your own Religi-

^m Ir. Re- on, *Peter Walsh* ^m, “ that they, i. e. the then *Papish*
 monstr. p. “ Writers, did not scruple to mix Truth and Lies indiffe-
 583. “ rently, so they could, as (says he) indeed they did, cor-
 “ rupt thereby too many.” It would be humorous e-

nough to compare what other of your Writers upon those
 dismal Times say in opposition to each other. Mr. *Beling*,
 the best and honestest of them, next to *Peter Walsh*, says,
 cia Ca- “ that Frier *Paul King* had in his Epistle to his Friend in
 thol. Hib. “ in Prefat. “ *Flanders* published innumerable Lies, and again, an in-
 o Ib. p. “ digested Mass of Lies;” and afterwards more fully,
 69. “ that you take so much pleasure in lying, that you cannot
 “ abstain from it, even when it does you no service.”

Frier *John Ponce* is not behind-hand with *Beling* upon the
 same occasion; for he says ^p, “ *Beling* lies, and indeed
 Vindi- “ splendidly.” And again ^q, “ either you lie, or have
 cia Ever- “ enlarged and extended a Lie.” Innumerable other In-
 sa p. 175. “ stances may be given of this kind of Treatment among
 q Ib. p. “ themselves; inasmuch that in reading their Works I could
 12. “ not forbear thinking that I had got into a knot of Thieves
 “ and Pick-pockets, instead of sober Writers, studious of the
 “ Truth. Can you then blame me, Doctor, for not being
 “ very fond of such Evidences who cannot agree among them-
 “ selves? Or that I use cotemporary Protestant Writers,
 “ Men of Veracity and Faith, and some of them concerned
 “ in the Administration of the Government during that
 “ Period.

Pap.

Pap. And can you, Sir, with a grave Face, and from good Authority tell me, that the happy and blessed condition of *Ireland* before the rising of the People in 1641 was such as Lord *Clarendon* represents it?

Prot. I will undertake that task, and endeavour to give you Satisfaction in it, if it be possible to satisfy you. That there have been some light grievances in the best tempered Governments in the World is, I think, clear from History; and it is impossible to be otherwise, while Governors have an intermixture of the Frailties and Passions of the People blended in their Constitutions. But such Grievances are not the proper causes for Rebellions, Murders, Massacres, and Depredations; but should be remedied by Remonstrances, Supplications, and Petitions to the Sovereign. In *Ireland*, I dare venture to affirm it, though I know it will make you stare, there were fewer Pressures and Grievances to complain of in the period antecedent to the Rebellion, than in any other Country in *Europe*, and such as equally affected Protestant and Papist, and were fully redressed before that mischievous Juncture. If any Pressures bore more particularly upon the Papists, they were brought on them from time to time by their own indiscreet and turbulent Carriage. To prove this point I must go back to the beginning of the Reign of King *James I.* and blend therein some parts of the behaviour of the *Irish* Papists from that time to the Rebellion of 1641, which will demonstrate the true Causes of it better than any Citations you have made either from Protestant or Popish Authors.

Pap. You have taken a large Theme to descant upon: Proceed, and try your hand at it.

Prot. After the Submissions made by the Earl of *Tyrone*, and other *Irish* Grandees of *Ulster*, upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, it was reasonable to expect, that a People utterly wearied out with Rebellion, Pestilence, and Famine, as was then the condition of the *Irish*, would live quiet and loyal under a King of their own Lineage, as King *James I.* boasted that the Kings of *Scotland* were. And this in all humane probability would have been the Case, if the determination of the Universities of *Valladolid* and *Salamanca* in *Spain*, passed in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, of that malignant and pestilent question, *Whether an Irish Papist may obey or assist his Protestant Sovereign*, had not been sent over to *Ireland* at this Juncture, which these learned Bodies resolved in the negative by two

E

Assertions. xi.

2 *Both's*
Analyst.
Hib. p.
207.
See his
Speech to
the *Irish*
Agents in
1614.
Ir. Rem.
dedic. p.

Assertions. " 1st, Since the Earl of *Tyrone* undertook the
 " War for Religion, and by the Pope's Approbation, it
 " was as meritorious to aid him against the Hereticks,
 " as to fight against the *Turks*." [Mind that, Doctor, it
 is the result of the Consultations of two famous Universi-
 ties.] 2dly, " That it was a mortal Sin any way to assist
 " the *English* against him, and that those, who did so,
 " could neither have Absolution nor Salvation without
 " deserting the Hereticks, and repenting of so great a
 " Crime." *Philip O-Sullivan* calls ' the contrary to this
 Opinion, *insanam et venenosam Doctrinam, an extravagant*
and poisonous Doctrine: This, Sir, confirms what I advan-
 ced before, ' namely, that a zealous Papist can with dif-
 ficulty be a true Subject to a Protestant Prince, or if he
 be so in Causes imminent he must risque his Salvation. These
 Principles of Popery drew from King *James I.* a sharp
 Expression to the *Irish* Agents in 1614, who had passed
 into *England* to remonstrate against the Proceedings of the
 Parliament. " You, says his Majesty, that are of a con-
 " trary Religion, must not look to be the only Law-
 " makers; you that are but *half Subjects* should have
 " but *half Privileges*; you that have an Eye to me one
 " way, and to the Pope another way; the Pope is your
 " Father in *Spiritualibus*, and I in *Temporalibus* only; and
 " so you have your Bodies torn one way, and your Souls
 " drawn another; you that send your Children to the
 " Seminaries of Treason, strive henceforth to become
 " true Subjects, that you may have *Cor unum, et viam unam*,
 " and then I shall respect you all alike: But your *Irish*
 " Priests teach you such Grounds of Doctrine, as you
 " cannot follow them with a safe Conscience, but you must
 " cast off your loyalty to your King." It would be worth
 while to read this Speech printed at large by Sir *Richard*

f Cathol.
Hist.

f Answ. p.
18.

Vol. 2. Cox v.
p. 25.

In consequence of this Determination of the two Uni-
 versities the *Irish* wanted nothing but Power to raise a for-
 midable Rebellion. The Magistrates of the several Cities
 and Towns of *Munster*, who were all Papists, namely
Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Clonmell, and Cashell, and the
 City of *Kilkenny*, and Town of *Wexford* in *Leinster*, dis-

possessed w the Protestants of their Churches, re-consecrated
 son p. 285 them, and restored the publick exercise of the Mass by their
 own Authority, which they enjoyed before privately and
 peaceably without Interruption. —

Pap:

Pap. I deny your Assertion; it stands upon you to prove that the *Irish* Papists enjoyed their Religion at this time without Interruption.

Prot. This Point fully appears by the Answer of the Mayor of *Cork* to the Lord Deputy *Mountjoy* in excuse of the Proceedings of the Citizens, *that they only exercised now publickly that Religion, which ever before they had been suffered to exercise privately.* I need seek no further for this Proof, since it is an Evidence out of the Mouths of the Papists themselves. Let us now see how these Corporations, or Petty-states (as they would willingly be thought to be) conducted themselves upon this Occasion. At *Cork* they demurred a considerable time upon proclaiming the King, and at length did it with reluctance. They demanded, that the King's Fort of *Halbowling* should be put into their Hands; they took the Sacrament to spend their Lives in defence of the *Roman-Catholick Religion*, disarmed such Protestants as were in their Power, and refused the King's Provisions to be taken out of the Stores within the City to furnish the Forts, and secured those Stores in their private Cellars for their own use. Being taught by a seditious Priest, *that he could not be a lawful King, who was not approved by the Pope, nor sworn to maintain the Catholick Religion*, they resolved to defend themselves by Force, and to invite the other Corporations to a Confederacy.

Waterford and *Limerick* were as rebellious as *Cork*, and *Clonmel*, *Cashell*, *Kilkenny*, and *Wexford*, had their share in these Disorders; insomuch that the Lord Deputy was obliged in Person to march down Forces to bring them to Reason; which he effected with some Difficulty, and hanged up only three of the principal Incendiaries. Now, Sir, I ask you what Name you will give to this Attempt of the *Irish* Corporations?

Pap. Certainly it was an Attempt weakly contrived, and worse executed.

Prot. But if it had succeeded, I suppose it would have been denominated a glorious Effort to recover the Splendor of Religion long since eclipsed. For this is the great Point the *Irish* have drove at since the Reformation. What Measures then did the Lord Deputy take to punish these Disorders? Why, he only obliged the Inhabitants of the several offending Corporations to take the Oath of Allegiance, and to relinquish all foreign Power; and then issued

* March a Proclamation * of *general Oblivion*, and free Pardon, and
 11, 1604. soon after a *Commission of Grace* to confirm the Estates of
 Analest. Possessors against all Claims of the Crown by granting new
 P. 307. Patents to them. One would have thought, that this
 Lenity, and these Graces, were proper Means to oblige
 the *Irish* to Gratitude and Obedience. But did this hap-
 pen? No certainly. Concessions and Favours always in-
 duced those People to think the Government weak, and
 heretofore never failed to put them into Action, that is, in-
 to Rebellion. In 1607 was discovered another Conspiracy
 formed by the Earls of *Tyrone*, and *Tyrconnell*, *Maguire*,
O-Cahan, and almost all the *Irish* of *Ulster*, to surprize
 the Castle of *Dublin*, murder the active Officers of State,
 secure the principal Garrisons, and call in foreign Aid;
 and the Cities and great Towns in the West, and South,
 were prepared to join in an universal Rebellion. But too
 early a Discovery put an End to this Confederacy, and the
 Earls of *Tyrone* and *Tyrconnell*, *Maguire*, and others of the
 principal Complotters fled beyond Seas; from whence, the
 Year following, they incited Sir *Cahir O-Dogherty*, with
 assurances of *Spanish* Aids, to fly out into actual Rebellion.
 In the beginning of *April* he got Possession of *Culmore*
 Fort by treacherously seizing the Governor and his Wife,
 whom under a Shew of Friendship he had invited to Dinner;
 and the same Night about Cock-Crow he surprized *Derry*,
 murdered the Governor, Sir *George Paulet*, and the Garri-
 son, and all the Protestants who fell into his Hands, except
 the Bishop's Wife, whom he reserved as a Hostage in case
 of any Emergency, and then plundered, and set Fire to the
 Town, and in Sight of his Army committed 2000 hereti-
 cal Books to the Flames belonging to the Ministers of
Derry, for the Redemption of which he refused 200 Pounds,
 which the Bishop, who had arrived to ransom his Wife,
 offered for their Preservation. He drew in most of the
Irish in that and the neighbouring Counties, resolving to
 maintain the War 'till the two Earls, and the other Exiles,
 should arrive with Aids from foreign Princes. But a ran-
 dom Shot put an End to his Life, and thereby to the Re-
 bellion. What think you now, Sir, of this Account? I
 suppose you judge it to be the Invention of Hereticks to
 blemish the poor Catholics.

Pap. Doubtless it is much aggravated, and the Pressures
 and Grievances these People laboured under are concealed.

Pro.

Prot. The Account is faithfully extracted from *Philip O-Sullivan* 1, a Writer of your own Religion, whom therefore you will believe; and the Rebellion was fomented by the Priests, who affirmed, *that all were Martyrs who died in that Service.* Some of the Rebels were taken and executed, who, the same Author says, died Martyrs for not swearing to the King's Supremacy; and yet confesses that they were involved in the Rebellion. Such are the Cheats, which the *Irish* Historians and Priests put upon their deluded Countrymen. I suppose you think it reasonable, that some light Punishment should be inflicted on these Rebellious Children.

7. Cath.
Hist. p.
210, &c.

Pap. Yes, I think they should be punished as offending Children, but not extirpated.

Prot. Nor were they extirpated; as evidently appears from their being able to carry on the cruelest Rebellion that ever happened in *Ireland*, or in any other Country, 33 Years after. Such of them as were not notoriously faulty were unmolested, and left to the free enjoyment of their antient Estates. Inquisitions and Offices were legally found against the most Criminal; the Estates of the Fugitives, of *O-Dogherty*, and the other Conspirators, were seized and sequestered; by which a Proportion of the six Counties of *Donegall*, *Tyrone*, *Cavan*, *Fermanagh*, *Armagh*, and *Colerain*, now called *Derry*, escheated to the Crown, and the Attainders of the several Rebels were confirmed by Authority of Parliament 2.

2 Stat. 11.
Jac. chap.

Pap. This was Extirpation with a Vengeance, to seize and sequester all Estates of Papists in six intire Counties, to make room for a new-fangled Plantation of *Scottish* Presbyterians, for no other reason than to provide for the King's Countrymen.

Prot. If this be not misrepresentation, I know not what the Word signifies. You cannot but know, that King *James I.* hated a Presbyterian, as much as he did a drawn Sword, as they had been instrumental in clipping his Prerogative, and raising him great Troubles in his native Government: So that it may be fairly presumed from thence, that the much greater part of those, whom he planted in the six escheated Counties, were of the Episcopal Communion. But let that be how it will, the King sure had a Right to dispose of his Forfeitures how and to whom he thought proper. Now, Sir, as to your Extirpation. It is not true, as you boldly advance, that all the Estates

• Hiber-
nica part
1. p. 73.

Estates of the *Irish* in these six Counties were sequestred, and new planted. You have seen before, that those of them, who were not notoriously faulty, were left to the free Enjoyment of their antient Estates. If you look into *Watson's Almanack* you will find, that the Contents of Acres in these six Counties amount almost to two Millions. Turn next to *Pynnar's Survey* • of these Counties taken in 1618 and 1619, by virtue of a Royal Commission (which was first printed by my procurement in 1747) and cast up with your Pen what Numbers of Acres were disposed of among the Planters, and you will find that they amount to no more than 250,682 Acres, which is very little more than an Eighth of the whole Contents. There were granted indeed to the *Irish*, who may be supposed not to be so criminal as their Fellows, 31,896 Acres: What remains must be supposed to be quietly enjoy'd, partly by such Protestants as were Inhabitants there before the Flight of the Earls, and before *O-Dogherty's* Combustion, and partly by the innocent *Irish*. If the Articles and Conditions prescribed by the Crown for these Plantations had been strictly observed, it would have bid fair to have prevented any after Rebellion. The *English* and *Scottish* Undertakers were to plant their Lands with *English* and *Scottish* Tenants, and were personally to reside thereon; nor had they power to alien or demise their Portions to the mere *Irish*. The Servitors, or military Men, had power to demise to the Natives; but then they were to be planted in such places as were of the greatest Importance to the Defence of the Plantation; and the Natives were to be planted dispersedly. The two former sort were obliged to build Castles and Bawns, to supply themselves with Arms, and to plant their Tenants in Town-reeds for their mutual Defence. Instead of observing these Articles and Conditions, the quite contrary was acted. The *English* and *Scottish* received *Irish* Tenants for their greater Profit, the planting in Town-reeds was much neglected, Arms not provided, Castles and Bawns not universally erected, and the *Irish* admitted to a cohabitation among them. Turn, for example, to the Survey aforesaid from N^o. CXXXII. to N^o. CXXXV, where you will see, that one *English* Undertaker, namely the Earl of *Castlehaven*, a Papist indeed, had planted 9000 Acres principally with Papists, of whom, under twenty *Irish* Gentlemen, there were 3000 Souls of all Sorts, and this in direct Violation
of

of the Plantation Conditions. Many other Instances of the like sort might be given. The *Londoners*, esteemed the Life and Soul of the Plantation in the County of *Derry*, who had near 40,000 Acres, by estimation, granted to them, but much more by Measure, besides the Towns of *Derry* and *Colerain*, were very deficient in the performance of their Conditions ; as manifestly appears by a Letter ^b from ^b Ibid. p. Sir *Thomas Philips*, Governour of the County of *London-* 131.

derry, to King *Charles I.* wherein he tells his Majesty, “ That the fundamental Grounds of the Grants to them
 “ was the avoiding of the Natives, and planting wholly
 “ with *British* ; but that they, i. e. the *Londoners*, find-
 “ ing the Natives willing to overgive rather than remove,
 “ and that they could not reap half the Profit by the
 “ *British*, which they do by the *Irish*, whom they use at
 “ their pleasure, never looking into the Reasons which in-
 “ duced the Natives to give more than they could well
 “ raise, namely, their assured Hope, that Time might by
 “ Rebellion relieve them of their heavy Landlords, whom
 “ in the mean time they were contented to suffer under,
 “ rather than not have a footing to entertain their expect-
 “ ed Lords.” Afterwards ^c he proceeds thus, in a sort of ^c Ibid. p. propheticall manner, of what actually came to pass in 1641. 133.

“ But your Majesty’s greatest Loss consists in the filling of
 “ the Country with *Irish*, at whose Mercy the few *English*
 “ lie ; for they may at their pleasure surprize their Houses,
 “ cut their Throats, and possess their Arms, and had done
 “ so, had I not happily discovered a Combination of the
 “ ablest and most dangerous Gentlemen of the *North*, to
 “ have burnt and destroyed their whole Plantations, Towns,
 “ and Country ; and thereupon the 19th of *April* 1615
 “ they were apprehended, and I sent them to the Lord
 “ Deputy, whom his Lordship, after Examination, sent to
 “ receive their Trials at *Derry* Assizes, where six of
 “ them were executed, being *Tyrone’s* near Kinsmen.
 “ The same Plot was then discovered to Mr. *Trumball*,
 “ his Majesty’s Agent in *Brussels*, and certified into
 “ *England*.”

Pap. I never heard of this Plot ; which must be some Contrivance to blemish those of my Religion in their Loyty and Obedience.

Prot. Always the same Apology ! When your Plots are discovered either you pretend Ignorance of them, or strenuously deny them. But I will prove the Fact, not from
 Sir

a Folio.
No. 4.
p 612.
&c.

Sir Richard Cox, who may be, in your Opinion, an exceptionable Witness, but from a Manuscript coeval with the Plot, belonging to Dr. Sterne, late Bishop of Clogher, and now deposited in the College Library &c. " This Year, " says the Manuscript, a Conspiracy was discovered of an " intended Rebellion in the North, contrived by Alexander " Mac-Donald, Lodder Mac-Donald, Rorie Oge O-Cahan, " Rorie Mac-Manus O-Cahan, Surley Mac-James Oge " O-Donald, Shane Oge Mac-Shane Mac-Bryen O-Neil, " Neil Oge Mac-Neil, Hugh O-Neil, and many other " Chiefs of Clans of the old Irishry, in which several of " the Papish-Scots were joined. It was contrived at the " House of one Gill, three Miles from Colerain, and Articles were signed by the principal Conspirators, namely, " that Alexander Mac-Donald should be Head of the Rebellion, and, together with Lodder Mac-Donald, and " Surley O-Dannell, should strengthen themselves by Men " and Arms from the Rout, Clandeboys, and the Scottish " Islands. Rorie Oge O-Cahan was to draw together his " best Forces from Glensyn, as well those under his own " Command, as such as he could obtain by the means of " Donnell Mac-Gen O-Donnell, and Hugh bdy his Brother; " and others were to assist with all the Powers they could " make in the County of Derry and elsewhere. This " Plot was two Years in framing, but was not fully agreed " till Midsummer 1614, when the last Hand was put to it in " the said Gill's House; and it was concluded, among other " Articles, that Lodder Mac-Donald should pass over into " Scotland, and procure Aids from Colla Mac-Gilaspick, " and from thence to Spain to solicit the like there. Their " first Attempt was to be on Colerain, which Rorie Oge " O-Cahan was to surprize by means of a Friend, who " could command the Guard, which they were to burn " and pillage, and murder all the Inhabitants [mind that] " except Mr. Berrisford and Mr. Rowley, for whose Liberty they proposed to obtain the enlargement of Neil Garve O-Cahan, Cormuck Mac-Baron, and Sir Neil Garve's " Son, then Prisoners in England. Other Parties were to " surprize Lifford, Derry, Coalmore, Limavady, Massareen, Carrickfergus, Mountjoy and Charlemont, and to release Owen O-Neil, Tirone's Son, out of the latter of " those Places, where he was kept under the Care of Sir " Toby Caulfield. The pretence which these Gentlemen " made for their Discontent was, that their Lands were " disposed

“ disposed of to others, and they left to trust to small
 “ Portions ; to which was added the hanging up of the
 “ *Irish* by Sir *Moses Hill* ; and therefore they thought it
 “ more eligible to die together at once, than to be cut off
 “ at one, two, or three at a time. This Plot was to
 “ have been carried into execution on the 10th of *May*
 “ this Year, but was timely discovered by *Teig O-Lenan*,
 “ who was intrusted with the whole Contrivance, of which
 “ he gave a full Examination on the 9th of *April*, before
 “ *Thomas Foster*, Provost Marshal of the County of *Der-*
 “ *ry*, and three Days after before Sir *Thomas Philips* at
 “ *Newtown-Limavady*. Such of the Conspirators as were
 “ taken were convicted by a Jury upon the Evidence of the
 “ said *Teig O-Lenan*, and many others, and some of them,
 “ together with two Priests concerned in the Plot paid the
 “ penalty of their Treason.”

Pap. This was a fine Plot cooked up by *Teig O-Lenan*,
 a Criminal and Abandoned Gamester, who was bribed by
 the Lord Deputy to do this service.

Prot. I find you remember something of this Conspiracy
 now, when it serves your turn to object to it. It is the
 Common Cant of your Party with a bold Face to deny a fact
 manifestly proved ; or to take away the Credit of Witnesses
 by as bold a Crimination : But when you tax a Lord Deputy
 with Bribery to promote a wicked Service, you ought to
 support what you advance with unexceptionable Evidence.

Pap. I can, Sir, by a Cotemporary Witness, and that is
Philip O-Sullivan *.

Prot. A special Evidence you have produced truly ;
 whose Character is infinitely worse than any thing you pos-
 sibly can object to *Teig O-Lenan* ; I will give you a Sketch
 of it from a Writer of the same Age, a Prelate, who for
 Candor, Truth, Veracity, and Learning, perhaps cannot
 be equaled in that or any other Age, I mean Archbishop
Usher †, *A worthy Author*, says he (talking of this *Philip*
O-Sullivan) *to ground a Report of Antiquity upon, who in*
relating the matters that fell out in his own time (meaning his
 Catholick History) *discovereth himself to be as egregious a*
Liar, as any, I verily think, that this Day breatheth in Chri-
stendom. What think you, Sir, now of your Evidence ? But
 there is no occasion to blemish his Character as to this Fact.
 For *Bryan Crossagh O-Neil*, *Rorie Mac-Manus O-Cahan*,
 and many others of the principal Conspirators, confessed as
 much upon their Examinations, as *Teig O-Lenan* had done ;

* Cath.
 Hist. p.
 269.

† Relig. of
 the antient
 Irish, p.
 92.

Regim.
Angl. in
Hib. de-
fensio ad-
versus A-
nalecten.
P. 54.

all which Examinations may be seen in the College Manuscript before cited. But lest all this should not satisfy you, I will refer you for this particular to Sir *Thomas Rydes*, a Master in Chancery, and Judge of the Prerogative Court in Ireland at this Juncture, who gives the same Account of the discovery of this Plot, and of the Confession of *Rorie O-Cahan* (who, he says, was the Principal of the Conspirators in Rank) made before the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, Sir *Robert Digby*, and others of the Privy Council, which Book he published in answer to another lying Book written by *David Roth*, and called *Analecta*. And he says, that *Bryan Crossagh O-Neil*, and many others of the Conspirators, confirmed the whole Series of the Plot, the Places, Persons, and time appointed for rising, without the least disagreement. I hope these Witnesses will put you out of conceit with *Philip O Sullivan*, unless you would choose to fill your Stomach with Carrion, rather than wholesome Victuals.

Pap. By the Account you have given of this Plot, it would seem, that the *Irish* had some Cause of discontent. For you say their pretence was, “ that their Lands “ were disposed of to others, and they left to trust to small “ Portions; and further, the hanging up of the *Irish* by “ Sir *Moses Hill*.”

Prot. Their Pretences were very weak; but when did Rebels ever want Pretences good or bad? The disposal of their Lands was no other than the Plantation of the six escheated Counties before mentioned; and I could almost venture to leave it even to yourself to judge, whether, when the Lands of Rebels are forfeited to the Crown by their Rebellion, and the same disposed of by the King to more dutiful Subjects, it be an Act of Injustice, or a common Act of Prudence and justifiable Policy. This was one of the Causes of the subsequent Rebellion in 1641. Sir *Moses Hill* was Provost Marshal of the Eastern Parts of *Usher*, and in virtue of his Office had Power, by a military Trial, to condemn and hang up such as were found guilty of Felonies and Robberies, or were out in Arms upon their Keeping: and even in such cases the Provost Marshals had no Power over Estated Men, or Freeholders of 40 s. a Year, or who had 10 l. in personal Substance; and this Limitation was inserted in all the Commissions of martial Law, which have fallen into my Hands, and those are not a few. If Sir *Moses Hill* was criminal in the execution of his

his Powers, Rebellion was not the Method to procure Redress ; but the Government, upon Complaint, would certainly have reformed or punished his Excesses.

Pap. Have you done with Rebellions yet ? I think you have given us a Surfeit upon that Subject.

Prot. I believe you are not pleased to hear any account of them, because they were unsuccessful : Four Attempts in about thirteen Years ! I have introduced them only to shew, that if the Laws were at any time executed with Rigour against the Papists, which was seldom, if ever, the case, they drew the Vengeance upon themselves by their Disobedience ; and it helps also to prove the proneness of the *Irish* to Rebellion from their Church Principles, and their Adherence to the Papal Jurisdiction.

Pap. All the Attempts you have mentioned were only the partial efforts of a few discontented People ; for whom it is severe that the whole Body should suffer.

Prot. Nor did they, Sir. The Government always made a Distinction between good and bad Subjects of the Popish Religion. And as to those Efforts being partial, as you say, and the Acts of a few discontented People, we may thank the Vigilance of the Government, who put a timely stop to them ; else, the Fire would have gained Strength in its progress, and God knows what would have been the Event. Had I taken up this Account from the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, it would have afforded a much more ample Field to expatiate in, being, in a manner, one continued and general Struggle of the *Irish* to restore Popery by Arms. I shall now, Sir, buckle more closely to the Defence of Lord *Clarendon*.

Pap. But still, methinks, you do not deal your Favours very equally in passing over the Persecutions of the Papists during the Government of Sir *Oliver St. John*, a bloody Man, who swore, says *O-Sullivan* ^h, “ that he would ^h Cath. “ in two Years banish all the Priests, and actually levied Hist. p. “ 600,000 *l.* from them for Fines and Forfeitures for not 270. “ going to Church, and in *Dublin* only imprisoned ninety “ Citizens for denying the King’s Supremacy.”

Prot. You will not suffer me to pursue the main Subject ; but I will gratify you. I wonder, nevertheless, you would again appeal to *O-Sullivan* after what hath been said of him ; and his Account here betrays itself. That 600,000 *l.* were levied for Fines during the few Years of the Government of Sir *Oliver St. John* exceeds all Credit, as it infinitely did exceed the Wealth of the whole

1 Frates
Sobrii ef-
tote. print
ed A. D.
1634.

Kingdom. I do confess, that the Rebellions before-mentioned, and the impudent bare-faced Exorbitances of the Papists, did at this time oblige the Government to keep a stricter hand over them, than they had hitherto done. On the 13th of *October* 1617 a Proclamation issued for banishing the Regular Clergy, those Firebrands of Sedition, who in great Numbers swarmed in every Corner of the Kingdom, and especially in the City of *Dublin*, where there was a vast resort of Abbots, Priors, Monks, Friars, Nuns, and Jesuits; insomuch that *Paul Harris*, an *English* Secular-Popish-Priest, a few Years after complained in Print, "that it was as hard to find what number of Friars were in *Dublin*, as to count how many Frogs swarmed in the second Plague of *Egypt*;" and indeed they were a much more mischievous Brood. Soon after the Oath of Supremacy was administered to all Magistrates, and Civil Officers, and in pursuance thereof the Liberties of *Waterford* were seized, because several Magistrates had entered upon the Office of Mayor without taking the said Oath; and Goal-deliveries were held without any Recorder, contrary to their Charter. These things you will acknowledge were only carrying established Laws into Execution, which, by the Lenity of the Government, had been for a long time suffered to sleep, till they were awakened by these Rebellions and Exorbitances. Whether ninety Citizens were imprisoned in *Dublin* for denying the King's Supremacy I cannot affirm or deny, our Histories being silent in that particular; but this I will affirm, that if these half faced Subjects were so treated, it was done according to Law; and sure you cannot think the Government severe for executing Laws made for the Safety and Support of it, and for extinguishing foreign Jurisdiction, especially when the Provocations were so great and frequent. But these Persecutions, as I know you will be fond of calling them, were of no long Continuance. For you will find in the College Manuscripts before cited, that the Lord Deputy *St. John* gave special Instructions to the going Judges of Assize in 1621 to inspect into and redress several Oppressions complained of against Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Justices of the Peace, Coroners, Constables, Clerks of the Crown and Peace, Say-Masters, and Clerks of the Market; and the first of these Instructions commands them to mitigate Proceedings against Recusants upon the Statute of 2d Elizabeth. This Relaxation of the Laws soon incited the Papists

pists to fresh Insolences, which may appear from a Sermon of Bishop *Usher*, preached before the new Lord Deputy *Falkland* in 1622, wherein is this Passage ; *that if his Majesty were pleased to extend his Clemency to Recusants, yet that they might not be suffered to give the Protestants publick Affronts, nor to take possession of their Churches before their Faces*; which it seems they then did : And this Behaviour the same Year brought on a new Persecution (as you call it) several Popish Magistrates having been censured in the *Castle-Chamber* for refusing the Oath of Supremacy, and a Prolamation issued against the Popish Clergy.

And now, Sir, I shall close the Reign of King *James I.* during which the *Papists* did not labour under such heavy Persecutions, as your infamous Writers do insinuate ; unless the taking from them the power of persecuting others may be called Persecution. Many of them were admitted to lucrative Employments in the State and Army, they had Votes and Seats in the two Houses of Parliament, they practised at the Bar in common with the Protestant Subjects, were advanced to the several Benches, and were otherwise indulged, till they forfeited such Favours by the Rebellion of 1641. I should have mentioned also, that many of them were called into the Nobility, whose Names I will give you ; and for the Truth you may satisfy yourself from the Rolls-Office ; namely, in 1603 *Rorie O-Donnel* was created Earl of *Tyrconnel*, in 1617, *Touchet* was created Earl of *Castlehaven*, and *Bourke* Baron of *Brittas*. In 1619 *Mac-Donnel* Viscount *Dunluce*, and the Year following Earl of *Antrim*. In 1621 *Butler* Viscount *Tullaghfelim*, and the same Year *Nugent*, Baron of *Delvin*, was created Earl of *West-Meath*. In 1622 *Netterville* was created Viscount *Netterville*, and *Esmond* Baron of *Limbrick* ; and in 1623 *Magennis* Viscount *Iteah*.

Pap. I hope you have at length shaken Hands with Rebellions, and that you will now shew, that the Papists had no Grievances to complain of during the Reign of King *Charles I.*

Prot. I have done with Rebellions till we come to the grand one in 1641 ; and as to Grievances, I think I shall be able to shew, that Papists and Protestants were equal Sufferers in them ; or, if a heavier Hand was at any time kept over the Papists, they brought it upon themselves by their own Follies.

The

Peter
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The Reign of King *Charles* was unhappy, and out of Order in *England*, by means of his Majesty's Differences with his Parliaments. The *Irish* took early advantages thereof to be very high and insolent at home, to which they were not a little incited by a Bull of Pope *Urban* the VIIIth, dated the 30th of *May*, 1626, directed to the *English* Catholicks, exhorting them rather to lose their Lives than to take that noxious and unlawful Oath of Allegiance, by which the Sacred Scepter of the Universal Church might be plucked out of the Hands of the Vicars of the Omnipotent God, as the Popes were pleased to stile themselves. These Insolencies occasioned the Government to increase the Army to 5000 Foot, and 500 Horse, the Maintenance of which, amounting to 64240*l.* a Year, exceeded the whole Revenue, out of which the Civil List was likewise to be paid; so that it became necessary to provide some other Fund for the Support of the Army; and, until that could be done, the Lord Deputy and Council by Letters recommended some Troops and Companies to the Counties and Towns of the Kingdom, to be maintained with Money, Cloaths, and Victuals, from three Months to three Months, until the 28th of *March*, 1628; in lieu of which the King promised to grant certain Graces to the Country, and particularly to suspend the Composition.

Pap. Was this Method of maintaining the Army legal or regular? Or, can it be said, as the Lord *Clarendon* does, that whatever the Land, Labour, or Industry of the Papists produced was their own, being not only free from the Fear of having it taken from them by the King upon any pretence whatsoever, without their own consent? Or can it be said, as he does, that Taxes, Tollages and Contributions were things hardly known to them by their Names?

Prot. You mistake the Point, Sir, and I fear wilfully. I freely grant you, that it was not a regular Method of maintaining the Army, and that the proper Course would have been to have it done by Parliament. But consider, it was only recommended to, and not imposed on the Counties and Towns, and consented to by the People, which took away all pretence of Complaint; and whatever the Maintenance amounted to, which was under 37000*l.* in the whole, bore in Proportion equally hard upon the Protestants as upon the Papists. Agents were sent to *England* to solicit a Redress, who offered the King 40000*l.* a Year, in the Nature of three Subsidies, which were accepted

ted and paid until the beginning of *October* 1629. In the mean time to facilitate this Work, and to induce his Subjects to a greater forwardness in furnishing the Army, his Majesty gave Directions to the Lord Deputy to let his Subjects know, *that he was pleased to recompence them with Bounties and Graces*, the Particulars whereof he sent them with the said Letter, *and that he would give them a further Taste of his Favours by suspending the Composition Rent, amounting to above 8000 l. a Year, and by dispensing with General Hostings for such time as the Contribution for the Maintenance of the Army should continue.* These Graces in a small Degree respected the Protestants, but were much more beneficial to the Papists, they were these ¹. 1st, A Suspension of the Execution of the Statute for levying 12 d. on Recusants for not coming to Church. 2d, An Inhibition to the Clergy from exacting undue Fees of the Recusants for Marriages, Christenings, and Burials; and that a general Rule be prescribed for redressing all Abuses of those Courts. 3d, That a general Pardon be granted to all who will sue it, and, to save Charges, that Twenty be comprized in one Patent for one Fee. 4th, An ease in regard to Proceedings in the Court of Wards. 5th, Liveries to be sued without taking the Oath of Supremacy. And, 6th, That when the great Work is settled for the Defence of the Kingdom, the King promises to call a Parliament in *Ireland* for settling Men's Estates, and easing them by Acts of Grace, and necessary Laws to be passed for the good of the Commonwealth, and redress of just Grievances. You cannot but acknowledge that these Graces were more than an Equivalent for their Proportion of 40000 l. granted for maintenance of the Army.

¹ College
M. S. No:
4. P. 32.

Pap. I cannot but allow, that these Graces were very beneficial, and an ample Equivalent for the Sums granted. But what became of this Concession of 40000 l. after the Year 1629? I fear it was levied from that time by Arbitrary Power.

Prot. You mistake again, Sir: It was continued by further Concessions some Years longer, and then, the Grant being determined, and the Country finding the Necessity of paying the Army, who would not starve with Arms in their Hands, consented to the levying of 20000 l. a Year Quarterly for two Years more, and then a Parliament amply provided for these and other Exigencies.

Pap.

¹ Dial. p.
6.

Pap. But what say you to the Business of defective Titles¹, which in the foregoing and present Reign was rigorously prosecuted by the then Deputies, with a View chiefly to enrich themselves, to extirpate the *Roman Catholic* natives, and to plant foreign Protestants upon their Estates. This you will allow, was not very compatible with *that blessed Peace and Security*, which Lord *Clarendon* informs us the Natives then enjoyed.

Prot. I think, Sir, it was a Matter very compatible with the Peace and Security of the Natives. One of your Ancestors heretofore enjoyed the Manor of *Dale*, and was disseized thereof, and a Descent cast. Would not you think it hard to be precluded from bringing an Affize, or Writ of Right, or other legal Remedy, for recovering that Manor, the Right of which is in you, though the Possession is in another by the wrongful Disseisin?

Pap. I should think it hard indeed.

Prot. How then does the King's Case differ from yours? Or shall it be worse, and he precluded from recovering his Inheritance by such Methods as the Law gives to every Subject in their own Cases? The King's Title to a great Part of *Conaught* was thus. After the Submission of *Roderick O-Connor*, King of *Conaught*, and his swearing Allegiance to King *Henry II.* he and his Descendants frequently rebelled, and were as often pardoned. In 1210, King *John* in Person subdued ^k *Conaught*, and took *Cathol O-Connor*, King thereof, Prisoner. King *Henry III.* Son and Successor to King *John*, finding no End of the Rebellions of the *O-Connors*, caused the whole Land of *Conaught* to be seized for the Rebellion of *Odo O-Connor*, and in the 11th Year of his Reign [1226] granted Twenty-five Cantreds thereof (the whole consisting of Thirty Cantreds) to *Richard de Burgo*, and his Heirs, reserving the yearly Rent of 500 Marks, and saving to himself and his Heirs five Cantreds of the said Land, the best and nearest to his Castle of *Athlone*. Thus *Richard de Burgo* became seized of twenty-five Cantreds of the said Land, and he and his Heirs accounted for the Rent thereof in the Exchequer till the Extinction of the principal Head of that Family. If you will take the Pains to grope out your Way in the Dark up to the Repository of the Records in *Bermingham* Tower, you may find there among the Pipe-Rolls sufficient Satisfaction upon this Point, as far as the ruins of Time will suffer. But to save you that trouble, and lest you should have

^k Mat.
Paris. p.
230.

have any doubt of my Word, I will underneath † give you a few Instances of what I alledge during the long Reign of King *Henry III.* referring you for subsequent Reigns to the Records themselves.

Richard de Burgo being thus seized had Issue *Walter* who died in 1271, leaving Issue *Richard*, who had Issue *John*, who died in 1313, and left Issue *William*; and all these were lineally seized of the twenty-five Cantreds in *Connaught* before mentioned. *William*, the last Heir Male of this Family, was murdered ¹ at *Carrikfergus* by his own ¹ Annals Domesticks in the Year 1333, leaving behind him an only of Lough- Daughter of a Year old, *Elizabeth* ^m, who was sole Heir- kee. M.S. ess to these twenty-five Cantreds, as well as to the Earl- ^m Clyn's dom of *Ulster*. Upon the Murder of Earl *William* some Annals. younger and collateral Branches of the *Bourkes*, seeing M. S. their Chief dead without Heir Male, and no Man left to govern the Province of *Connaught*, intruded ⁿ into all the Earl's ⁿ Dav.

Hist. Rel.
fol. p. 42.

† Anno 23. Hen. 3. Compotus *Richard* de Burgo de terrâ *Connaciæ*, quam tenet de Domino Rege, de toto Anno 22^o. Hen. 3. et de toto Anno 23^o. per *Johannem* de Hackeford, et *Hugonem* Clericum, qui reddunt Compotum pro eâ de 500 Marcis de toto Anno 22^o. et de 500 Marcis de toto Anno 23^o. de firmâ prædictâ; et de 48 l. 6 s. 8 d. de Arreragiis compoti sui.

Anno 24^o. et 25^o. Hen. III. Idem reddunt compotum de 1000 Marcis de Annis prædictis de firmâ prædictâ.

Anno 26^o. Hen. III. Idem reddunt compotum de 500 Marcis de toto Anno 26^o. de firmâ prædictâ.

Anno 35^o. et 36^o. Hen. III. *Fromundus* Clericus reddit compotum de 250 Marcis pro reditu 25 Cantredorum *Ricardi* de Burgo in *Connaciâ* de termino S. *Michaelis* Anno 34^o Hen. III. et de 500 Marcis de redditu eorum de toto Anno 35^o.

Anno 46^o. Hen. III. *Walterus* de Burgo oneratur cum 500 Marcis de firmâ 25 Cantredorum in *Connaciâ* de hoc Anno, et cum 1480 l. 16 s. 1 d. de remanentiâ ejusdem de pluribus Annis præcedentibus, sicut continetur in Rot. 44.

Anno 47^o. Hen. III. *Walterus* de Burgo reddit compotum de 91 l. 15 s. 0 d. de Arreragiis ultimi compoti firmæ suæ 25 Cantredorum in *Connaciâ*. Idem reddit compotum de 500 Marcis de firma 25 Cantredorum prædictorum in *Connaciâ* hoc Anno. Idem reddit compotum 2147 l. 7 s. 5 d. de remanentiâ ejusdem de pluribus Annis præcedentibus.

Compotus *Connaciæ* a festo S. *Michaelis* Anno 53^o. Hen. III. ad Pascham Anno 4^o. *Edw.* Regis, *Walterus* de Burgo debet 1928 l. 9 s. 9 d. de Arreragiis compoti sui 25 Cantredorum in *Connaciâ*. Sicut continetur in Rotulo Regis *Henrici*.

Lands, which ought to have been seized into the King's Hands by reason of the Minority of the Heiress ; and two of the most potent of them divided that great Signiory betwixt them, the one taking the Name of *Mac-William Oughter*, and the other of *Mac-William Eighter*. The Heiress, when she came to competent Years, intermarried with *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, second Son to King *Edward III.* who in her Right became intitled to this vast Inheritance ; which Match produced but one Daughter, *Philippa*, who intermarried with *Edmond Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, who had Issue *Roger Mortimer*, who had Issue only *Anne*, married to *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, who had Issue *Richard Duke of York*, Father to King *Edward IV.* from whom the Right to the said Inheritance descended by several intermediate Successions to King *Charles* the first.

◦ Dial. p. 7. You complain ◦ of the burning, defacing, and embezzeling of Records, by which you insinuate, that the possessors of those Cantreds could not make their Titles appear. I will shew you, that the Crown laboured under more Difficulties than the Subject upon that Occasion.

Pap. Ay ! that will be something. You are a great undertaker of Paradoxes ; and now you attempt to reason against a Representation of a House of Commons to the Lord Deputy.

Prot. Have patience, Sir, and answer me, whether the Representation of a House of Commons, often carried by Faction and Party, or an Act of Parliament be the better Evidence ?

Pap. An Act of Parliament indisputably ; because that is the Result of the Wisdom of the King, Lords, and Commons : Whereas, as you observe, the Representation of a House of Commons may be carried by factious means.

Prot. Then pray see what the Statute of 10. *Hen. VII. Chap. 15.* says upon this Occasion, which will not only shew the Mischiefs arising to the King from embezzeling of Records, but will also strengthen the Kings Title to these twenty-five Cantreds of *Connaught*. “ Forasmuch as the
“ Earldoms of *March* and *Ulster*, and the Lordships of
“ *Trim* and *Connaught*, bin annexed to the Crown, and
“ that all such Records, Rolls, and Inquisitions, as sometime was remaining of Record in the Treasory of *Trim*,
“ and as should intitle the King to all such Lordships, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Services, Wards,
“ Marriages,

“ Marriages, and all other Revenues appertaining to the
 “ said Earldom and Lordships, of late was taken and em-
 “ befilled by divers Persons of Malice prepenfed, to the
 “ great Damages and Disherifon of the King, and his no-
 “ ble Heirs, and to the great hurt and prejudice of his
 “ Subjects and Tenants of the said Lordships, that it be
 “ enacted by the Authority of this Parliament, that there
 “ be open Proclamation made in the said Parliament,
 “ that whatfoever Person hath any of the said Rolls, Re-
 “ cords, or Inquifitions, or knoweth where they be, and
 “ do not deliver them, or fhew where they bin, to the
 “ King’s Counfai within the said Land within two
 “ Months after the said Proclamation, that then they and
 “ every of them, that fhall fo offend, be deemed Felons
 “ attainted ; and that it be leful to the King and his Heirs
 “ to enter and feize all fuch Manors, Honours, &c. and
 “ every of their Appurtenances, and all other things be-
 “ longing to the said Earldom and Lordships, whereof any
 “ manner of leful Title or Discharge of the said King’s
 “ Interelt cannot be fhewed.” Another Act of Parlia-
 ment was made ^p before this in the 3d Year of *Edw. IV.* ^p Rolls
 [not printed] reciting, “ that whereas divers Persons in Office.
 “ the County of *Connaught* have occupied the King’s an- Stat. 3.
 “ tient Inheritance without Title, it is enacted, that Pro- Edw, 4.
 “ clamation be made in the said Parliament, that all Per- No 17.
 “ fons fo poffeffed [i. e. by intrufion] of the said Inheri-
 “ tance, fhall appear before *Thomas* Earl of *Defmond*,
 “ Deputy of *Ireland*, or his Affigns, at *Limerick*, the
 “ Week after the *Epiphany* next, and produce their Titles to
 “ the said Inheritance, and fuch who do not, to forfeit all
 “ their Lands, &c. which they occupy, and all Claim
 “ which they have to the said Inheritance.”

You fee, Sir, it was not for want of continual Claim in the Crown, that thefe twenty-five Cantreds of *Connaught* remained in the poffeffion of the Intruders.

Pap. How happened it then, that, notwithstanding thefe Acts of Parliament, no Efforts were made by the Crown from the 10th of *Henry VII.* to the Government of Lord *Wentworth* to recover thefe Poffeffions, being a Period of 140 Years.

Prot. During that Period the Kingdom was in almoft perpetual War ; the Intruders had fortified themfelves with Alliances and Unions, both with *English* and *Irish* Enemies and Rebels, except during fome fhort Calms in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and even thefe Calms inter-

rupted by perpetual Jealousies of the *Spaniards*, that the Crown had not sufficient power to assert those Rights, till King *James* the first reduced the Kingdom to better Order, and a more regular Government : And even during his Reign his care was taken up in settling Colonies in the northern and other parts, from whence he apprehended more Mischief than from *Connaught*.

Pap. Though I should grant the Title of the Crown to these Cantreds in *Connaught*, yet do not you think, that length of Time, and a Possession of 400 Years, should have set these Possessors at quiet.

Prot. You aggravate the Matter by an hundred Years ; for from the Murder of Earl *William* in 1333, to the Earl of *Strafford's* Government comprehends only the Space of about 300 Years ; but that is of no great Consequence, length of Time, and a Possession of such long continuance, might possibly have barred you or me. But the King stands upon a different Foot. His Time is supposed to be taken up in the arduous and weighty Businesses of State, and that he has not Leisure to inspect into his private Affairs ; and therefore the Law gives him this Prerogative, that no Length of Time shall bar his Right. *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi* is a Maxim you must have heard, and has never been disputed. You object in a manner as if you thought, that none but *Papists* were concerned in this Affair of defective Titles. But know, Sir, that it affected Protestants as well as Papists, namely, all such Protestants, as by Purchases, Descents, Settlements, or Intermarriages, were intitled to any of the Lands subject to these Inquisitions. Yet Protestants did not think, that a few particular Grievances (if such I should allow them to be, which I do not) were Causes sufficient to incite them to appear in Arms against their King, and to massacre their Fellow-Subjects.

Pap. Nothing nevertheless can palliate the Intention of making these Inquisitions and Plantations. Was it not to
 1 Dial. p. 6. extirpate 1 the *Popish* Natives, and plant foreign Protestants on their Estates?

Prot. It was not. And I can shew you, that in all the Plantations made in *Ireland* from the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* to the End of that of *James I.* regard was always had to the Interest, Propriety, Safety, and Security of the *Popish* Natives. Why then can you imagine, if this Matter of defective Titles had been carried

ried into full Execution, as it never was, that no Regard would be had to them? No King can think it his Interest to extirpate his Subjects, they being the Glory of his Dominions, and the Strength of his Hands, especially if they be good and industrious Subjects.

There were six principal Plantations settled during the Period mentioned, namely, 1st, those of *Leix* and *Offaly* in the King's and Queen's Counties. 2d, *Munster*. 3d, *Wexford*. 4th, *Longford*. 5th, *Leitrim*. And, 6th, of the six escheated Counties of *Ulster*.

1st, The Plantations of *Leix* and *Offaly* were established by virtue of an Act of Parliament^r, which recites Queen^r 3, 4 Phil. Mary's original Right to the Counties of *Leix*, *Slemarge*, and *Mary. Irry*, and *Glenmalire*, " And that they were usurped by " the *O-Moores*, *O-Connors*, *Dempsies*, and other Rebels, " and now by the Earl of *Suffex* brought back to their " Majesty's Possession; and further, that planting the said " Countries with good Men, would not only be a great " Strength to those Quarters, but a wonderful assurance " of quiet to all the rest of the *English* Countries bordering " upon the same. - Therefore, &c." This Act was not carried into Execution till the 5th of Queen *Elizabeth*, 1563, when the same Earl of *Suffex*, Lord Lieutenant, made a Plantation therein. It will be sufficient to support my Argument if I refer you to a Manuscript^r in the College Library, different from what I before cited, that if I mistake you may readily correct me. It appears by a Statute of *Philip* and *Mary*^r; that the *O-Moores*, the *O-Connors*, and the *Dempsies*, were the Chief forfeiting Persons. What numbers of Acres were found by Inquisitions to belong to them I know not; but I can certainly say, that there were distributed to the *English* Planters only 3371 Acres, taken by Estimation, and 29 Town-lands, to which no number of Acres are affixed; and to the *Irish* were granted 11224 Acres by Estimation, and 18 Town-lands without any Acres ascertained to them. So that, Sir, this does not afford an Instance of any Disposition in the Crown to Extirpation.

2d, I am not so well informed of the Particulars of the Plantation of *Munster*, which was made in the Year 1586, after the Suppression of the greatest Rebellion that ever, till that time, happened in *Ireland*, namely that of the Earl of *Desmond* and his Accomplices, both of the Natives, and of those of *English* Descent. This Rebellion, what by the
Sword,

^r Vol. 5.
P. 390.

^r Chap. 2.

Sword, and what by Fluxes and Famine, in a manner, reduced *Munster* to a Waste, “ So that there was little left “ for Queen *Elizabeth* to reign over, but miserable Car-
 *Spencer. “ casses, and the Ashes of sacked and destroyed Towns “,”
 p. 73. which laid her Majesty under a necessity of supplying these Losses by Colonies and Undertakers from *England*. Yet, under these Circumstances all the loyal *Irish* enjoyed their Estates without Disturbance. Near 150 of the Principal
 w Stat. 28. Gentlemen were Attainted by Act of Parliament w for
 Eliz. Chap being deeply engaged in this Rebellion, and consequently
 7. 8. few remained of sufficient Distinction to raise to the Pos-
 * M. S. session of large Estates. It was estimated * at this time,
 Coll. that the Queen became intitled to near 600,000 Acres by the Forfeitures of *Desmond*, and his Accomplices; and yet I do not find more than 208,099 Acres disposed of to the *English* Colonies. I am at a loss to discover among whom the Residue was distributed; but probably it was done to the repenting, or less criminal, of the Natives of *Irish* and *English* Extraction.

3d, The Plantation of the County of *Wexford* was proceeded upon in the Year 1611, and extended only to the two Baronies of *Gory* and *Ballakeen*, and the half Barony of *Scarewalsh*, containing 66,800 Acres, and some Tracts of Wood, Bog, and Mountain, all lying in one surround between the River *Slainy* on the South and South-West, the River of *Arcklow* on the North, the Sea on the East, and the Counties of *Carlow* and *Kildare* on the West; whereof the several Septs of the *Cavanaghs*, *Kinsalloghs*, *Mac-Vaddoes*, *Mac-de-Amoores*, *Murroughs*, and others, and some of the Antient *English* were possessed, who pretended to hold the same after the Customs of *Gavelkind* and *Tanistry*. But by an Inquisition held at the Exchequer Bar on the 18th of *January* 1611, the King's Title was found to the Effect following by a Jury of the County of *Wexford*. viz. “ That upon the Submission of *Art* “ and *Malloch Mac-Murrough*, the Chiefs of their Septs, “ and *David Moore* and *Manus Mac-Gerald*, Chiefs of “ the *Kinsalloghs*, and divers others of the *Irish*, unto “ King *Richard II*, they by Indentures dated the 7th of “ *January* in the 18th Year of that King (1388) cove- “ nanted with *Thomas*, Earl of *Nottingham*, that they, and “ every of them, before the first Sunday in Lent follow- “ ing would surrender to the said King the Possession of “ all the Lands, Tenements, Castles, Woods, Forts, “ and

“ and Pastures, with their Appurtenances, which by them
 “ and every of them, their Companions, Men, and Ad-
 “ herents, were late occupied in *Leinster*, without retain-
 “ ing or reserving any thing to themselves, and without
 “ Guile or other Deceit, their moveable Goods only ex-
 “ cepted; and that they, before the Day limited, would
 “ leave the Country to the true Obedience, Use, and
 “ Disposition of the King his Heirs and Successors.”

Pap. Sure there must be some Fraud, Force, or Ter-
 ror used to oblige these Heads of Clans to relinquish their
antient Possessions.

Prot. Not so *antient* as you imagine: For I think it ap-
 pears clear in History, that they were Usurpers only of o-
 ther Men's Rights, and not lawful Proprietors of these
 Lands. For you cannot but know, that these were part
 of the Possessions of *Dermod Mac-Murrough*, King of
Leinster, who for the Aids granted him by Earl *Strong-*
bow in the Recovery of his Dominions, from whence he
 had been expelled, gave him his only Daughter in Mar-
 riage, and settled on him the Reversion of the Kingdom
 of *Leinster*. For though the Sept of the *Cavenaghs* claim
 their Descent from this King, yet a cotemporary Histo-
 rian ¹ tells us, that he had a base Son *Donald*, from whom ² *Cambr.*
 they must draw their Original. Upon the Death of King ³ *Expung.*
Dermod in 1171, this great Inheritance came to *Strongbow*, ⁴ *Hib. Lib.*
 who enjoyed it all (except a few Maritime Towns and ⁵ *1. Cap. 3.*
 Castles, which he gave up to King *Henry II.*) till his
 Death in 1177. He left Issue only one Daughter, *Isabell*,
 whose Marriage with *William* Earl of *Pembroke* produced
 five Sons, and as many Daughters, and the five Sons en-
 joyed the Kingdom of *Leinster* successively, and all died
 without Issue, the youngest *Anselm* in 1245 or 1246. Up-
 on failure of Issue Male of this Family, the Kingdom de-
 scended in Coparcenary on the five Daughters, who mar-
 ried five *English* Noblemen, and these having greater Estates
 in *England* than here, neglected their Affairs in *Ireland*,
 and the *English* Nobleman who held the County of *Wex-*
ford in right of his Lady, employed ⁶ *Donald Mac-Art* ⁷ *Davis's*
Cavenagh to take Care of his Affairs, who in the 20th *Hist. Rel.*
 of *Edward II.* [1326] set up for himself, and with other *P. 42. 47.*
 Associates, took Possession of the greatest Part of that
 County. See for this Baron *Finglas's* Breviate ⁸ *Hibern.*
 So that you see, Sir, there are but 62 Years from the Usurpation *Part 1. p.*
 of these Natives to the time of their Surrender to King ⁹ *41.*
Richard

Richard II. I can readily grant you, that the powerful Armament of the King, which he headed himself, struck a Terror into these, and other *Irish* Chieftains, who made their Submissions to him at the same time; but this did not affect his Right; and I think it will appear by the Inquisition before in part recited, that he gave them a valuable Consideration for their Surrender. The Inquisition proceeds thus. “ That the Earl of *Nottingham* on
“ the Part of the King covenanted, that these Chieftains
“ and their Soldiers, during their Lives, should have Pay
“ in the King’s Wars, and should enjoy to them and
“ their Heirs all such Lands as they should conquer from
“ any Rebels in that Kingdom; that the King should
“ grant to *Art Mac-Murrough*, the Chief of the *Cave-*
“ *naghs*, a yearly Annuity of 80 Marks, and restore to
“ him his Wife’s Inheritance in the County of *Kildare*;
“ which Annuity was paid for divers Years, as appears
“ by Records. That on the 12th of *February* ensuing a
“ Commission issued to the Earl of *Nottingham*, to receive
“ the Homages and Submissions of *Mac-Murrough* and all
“ the *Irish* of *Leinster*, which was done, and to distribute
“ the Lands of the Chieftains, and Men of War, which
“ were to depart, to others of the King’s Subjects. That
“ on the 28th of April following King *Richard II.* grant-
“ ed to Sir *John Beaumont*, and his Heirs, all and singular
“ the Castles, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and Heredi-
“ taments, within the Metes and Bounds following, viz.
“ from the Bank of the Water of *Slainey* on the South,
“ unto the *Black-Water* of *Arcklow* on the North, and
“ from the Main Sea on the East, to the Bounds of the
“ Counties of *Carlow* and *Kildare* on the West, (except-
“ ing the Lands of the Earl of *Ormond*, if he had any
“ within those Bounds) to be holden by Knight’s service
“ in Capite; and that the said Sir *John Beaumont* by Vir-
“ tue of these Letters Patents was seized of all the Lands
“ within these Meres (except the Earl of *Ormond*’s, *Roche*’s
“ Lands, *Synnot*’s Lands, *Wadding*’s Lands, the Lands of
“ the Bishop of *Fernes*, Advousons of Churches, and some
“ other things in the Inquisition excepted) and that the
“ said Sir *John Beaumont* died thereof seized, and that
“ after his Death they came (except before excepted) to
“ *Henry Beaumont*, his Son and Heir, being an Infant;
“ after whose Death an Office was found, and Liverie
“ sued, by which it appears that seven Manors, namely,
“ *Faringmall*,

“ *Faringmall, Offelmigh, Shermall, Lymalagoughe, Shelala,*
 “ *Gorey, and Dipps,* were all the Lands and Dominions
 “ within these Bounds, which were by Virtue of that Office
 “ seized into the King’s Hands; and so remained until the
 “ said *John Beaumont* sued his Livery on the 3d of September,
 “ 13th *Henry VI.* [1434] and that the same *John Beau-*
 “ *mont* on the 7th of August, 24th *Henry VI.* [1446]
 “ made a Warrant of Attorney to *John Cornwallleys,*
 “ Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and *John Townley, Esq;*
 “ to let and set his Lands within these Bounds, and all
 “ other his Lands in *Ireland*; and that he thereof died
 “ seized (except before excepted) and had Issue two Sons,
 “ *John* the eldest, and *William* the second, both Viscounts,
 “ and one Daughter named *Joan*; which two Sons died
 “ without Issue of their Bodies, and that the said *Joan*
 “ was Heir to *William*, who last died, and was married
 “ to *John* Lord Viscount *Lovel* of *Titchmarje*, and that
 “ they had Issue *Francis* Viscount *Lovel*, attainted of
 “ Treason by Act of Parliament, 1st *Henry VII.* [1485]
 “ and confirmed in *Ireland*; by which Acts all his Lands
 “ in *England* and *Ireland* were vested in the actual and
 “ real Possession of the Crown, and so descended by mesne
 “ Descents to Queen *Elizabeth*, who afterwards granted
 “ the Manor of *Dipps* to the Earl of *Ormond*, and the
 “ Manor of *Shelala* to Sir *Henry Harrington*, and that the
 “ rest (except before excepted) descended to our Sove-
 “ reign Lord the King, as by the Copy of the said Office
 “ and Inquisition ready to be shewed doth appear.” Now
 Sir, you see evidently hereby who had the best Title to
 these Lands.

Pap. There is something curious in this piece of His-
 tory, I must confess. I wish you would inform me what
 Disposition was made of these Lands.

Prot. I will endeavour to satisfy you from a Return
 made by certain Commissioners sent over to *Ireland* by
 King *James* in 1613 to redress some Grievances com-
 plained of by Agents from *Ireland*, and among the rest
 to inquire into the Matters of this Plantation. This re-
 turn is to be found in the Rolls Office annexed to the
 Inquisition before recited, both which you may see there;
 but if your Curiosity carries you so far, I would advise
 you to take with you your keenest Eyes; for I assure
 you the Parchment is very dim.

After the Inquisition was so found at the Exchequer bar, it was transcribed into the Chancery, and soon after the following Patents of several proportions of these Lands were granted, viz.

	Acres.
To Sir <i>Richard Cooke</i> the King's Secretary,	1500
To Sir <i>Laurence Esmond</i> Knight, a Servitor, and } Native of <i>Wexford</i> ,	1500
To Sir <i>Edward Fisher</i> , Knight, a Servitor,	1500
To <i>Francis Blundel</i> , Esq;	1000
To <i>Conway Brady</i> , the King's Footman,	600
To <i>Nicholas Kenny</i> , Escheator,	500
To <i>William Parsons</i> , Surveyor,	1000
To Sir <i>Roger Jones</i> ,	1000
To Sir <i>James Carrol</i> , the King's Remembrancer,	1000
To <i>John Wingfield</i> , Esq; a Servitor,	1000
To Sir <i>Adam Loftus</i> ,	1000
To Sir <i>Robert Jacob</i> , the King's Solicitor.	1000
To <i>Fergus Greames</i> ,	300
To Sir <i>Richard Wingfield</i> , Marshall,	1000
To <i>William Marwood</i> , Deputy Remembrancer,	1000
To <i>John Loghern</i> , Esq;	1000
To <i>Francis Blundel</i> , Esq;	1000
To Capt. <i>Trevillian</i> , and Capt. <i>Fortescue</i> ,	2000
To <i>Thomas Hibbotts</i> , Esq;	1000
And reserved for martial Men, not yet granted,	12000
Total—	30,900

It was shewn before, that the whole Surround of these Lands was 66,800 Acres; so that, though the King had as just a Title to them all as Records could give him, yet, such was his Lenity, that he did not take away from the old Possessors a Moiety. There were but twenty-six intirely displaced, and these mostly of the old irreclaimable *Irish*, and the other Possessors were continued on the Lands, but suffered a Diminution in their Number of Acres formerly enjoyed, some more, and some less. The Conditions laid upon the new Patentees were these. Every Undertaker of 1500 Acres was obliged to build a Castle or Stone House thirty Feet long, twenty-four broad, and thirty high, besides the Battlements. An Undertaker of 1000 Acres was to build a Castle or Stone House twenty-four Feet square, and thirty high, besides the Battlements.

And

And an Undertaker of 500 Acres was to build a strong Bawn of Lime and Stone ; and all these Buildings to be finished in four Years after quiet Possession. You cannot complain much of this Plantation, especially as you must own it tended greatly to the Defence, Quiet, and Ornament of the Country.

Pap. I must confess there was great Moderation used in it ; I wish as much could be said for the other Plantations.

Prot. IV. I can say little of the King's Title to the Lands planted in the County of *Longford*, having never seen any Office found for them. But if you would give me leave to cite Sir *Richard Cox* ^b, a good Protestant, you ^b Hist. may see, " that by virtue of the King's Letter of the 12th Vol. 2^d April 1615, an Inquisition was held, which returned, p. 32. " that the Territory of *Annaly*, now the County of " *Longford*, was by King *Henry II.* granted to *Hugh de* " *Lacy*, who built Castles, and planted *English* there ; who " were ousted by the *O-Ferrals* in the Reign of *Edward I.* " That *Faghan O-Ferral* surrendered that Territory to " Queen *Elizabeth*, which her Majesty regranted to him. " Proviso for voiding his Patent, if the Queen had any other Title than that Surrender." By a Survey made of it in the Year 1620 it appears, that there were but 33 Plantators or Undertakers, to whom Lands were set out, and that they had amongst them only 17904 Acres. Among the Natives, being 142, there were distributed 45946 Acres. I hope this Distribution does not displease you, and that you have no room to complain of Extirpation.

Pap. No. But I am not satisfied with the Title, as you here lay it down. For it does not appear that *Faghan O-Ferral's* Patent was ever avoided by means of the Proviso contained in it.

Prot. Your Objection is just ; and certainly Sir *Richard Cox* hath given us a lame account of the Inquisition, to which, being a Stranger, I can say nothing, but upon a probable Supposition, that the Leaders of this Sept were faulty as to their Allegiance in the universal Rebellion of *Tyrone*, at the latter end of the Queen's Reign, in which most of the Clans of *Ulster* were engaged.

V. The escheated Lands in the County of *Leitrim* are put upon no better foot of Certainty, than those of the County of *Longford*. It appears by the King's In-

c. M. S. instructions to the Lord Deputy, Sir *Oliver St. John*, in
 N^o. 4. 1620, " that of 69843 Acres to be distributed, his Ma-
 p. 56. " jesty was resolved to dispose of a full Moiety, that is, of
 " 34921 Acres to *British* Undertakers ; because he had
 " taken a course for the Maintenance of *Bryen O-Roirk*,
 " who had been Chieftain of that Country, by granting
 " to him a liberal Pension in *England*, rather than suffer
 " him to live at home, where, though illegitimate, he
 " may be offensive by the Resort of the idle Followers of
 " his supposed Father." There were only 24 Undertak-
 ers of this Plantation, and of Natives great Numbers were
 provided for.

VI. Of the six escheated Counties of *Ulster* I have shewn
 a Answ. before what Care was taken of the Natives in the Dis-
 p. 38. position of them. Upon the whole, Sir, what I have said
 answers the heavy Charge of an Intention of extirpating
 the *Roman-Catholick* Natives, and planting foreign Prote-
 stants on their Estates ; and that the business of the defect-
 ive Titles was every compatible with the blessed Peace and
 Security mentioned by Lord *Clarendon*.

Pap. I presume you will alter your Opinion, when I
 lay before you the Representation made by a Commit-
 tee of the House of Commons of *Ireland* in 1634, to the
 Earl of *Strafford*, wherein they take notice, " that the
 Dial. p. 7. " calling in question their Titles to them was first occasioned
 Straff. lett. vol. 1. p. 310. " by the embezzeling, burning, and defacing of Records,
 " and other Evidences, which happened in this Realm in
 " times loose and uncertain, troubled with continual War,
 " until the beginning of his late Majesty's happy Reign,
 " and increased by the Negligence and Ignorance of sun-
 " dry Persons heretofore employed in passing of Patents
 " and Estates from the Crown, whereby many Errors in
 " Law crept into such Grants, whereof divers indigent
 " Persons, with Eagles Eyes piercing thereinto, common-
 " ly took Advantage, to the utter Overthrow of many
 " noble and deserving Persons, that for valuable Consi-
 " derations of Service unto the Crown, or Money, or
 " both, honourably and fairly acquired their Estates, which
 " is the principal cause of the slow improving, planting,
 " and building in this Land ; for that the Inhabitants of this
 " Kingdom, either through Carelessness of that, whereof
 " they are not secured, and fearing their insecurity, to
 " prevent allurements, and enticing of others to hunt after
 " their Lands, or quarrel with their Titles, are disheart-
 " ned

“ ned from making their Possessions beautiful or profitable.” Here, Sir, are the Sentiments of the Representative Body of the Nation against inspecting into these defective Titles. I believe you will pass over this Point, and allow it to be unanswerable.

Prot. By no means, Sir. I will give it such an Answer as it deserves. Were it worth while to enter into a poor Criticism upon a little inaccuracy I could shew you, that there was no such Person as the Earl of *Strafford* in 1634, unless created by your self, or your friend *Jones*; for he had not that Honour conferred on him by the King till 1639. But you may be excused by the Rhetorical figure *Histeron-proteron*, i. e. in english, *preposterous*, or the Cart before the Horse; so let it pass. For if in observing upon your Writings I should stick at the Shell, I should never come at the Kernel, which here I shall endeavour to do. You seem to insinuate, that this Representation came from a House of Commons entirely *Papish*, or from a Committee of those Principles. But it came from the whole Body of the House, Protestant as well as Papist, the former of which were a Majority of the whole by some few odds, as the Lord Deputy informs ^f the Lord Treasurer, notwithstanding the vast ^f Lett. v. pains taken by the Popish Priests and Jesuits ^g to prevent any ^g 1. p. 274. Protestants from being elected; who gave it in charge to ^g Ibid. p. their devotees at their Masses under pain of Excommunication ^g 270. to give their Voices to no Protestant: so that it seems the Protestants looked upon themselves as aggrieved by the Inquiries into the defective titles, as well as the Papists. Yet did they Rebel? Have you never known a House of Commons throw Colours over their proceedings, when they are inclined to carry a point? I am confident I have more than once observed it. Therefore Posterity will not take all that they utter for current Coin; whereas, when you or I alledge a fact, we are under a necessity of supporting it by Proofs. Have you given any such of the embezzeling, burning or defacing Records or Evidences, or of the negligence or ignorance of Persons employed in passing Patents, whereby many errors in Law crept into these Grants? Not one word but this Representation, which I wish you had pierced into with Eagles Eyes (as the House express themselves) and then you might have observed, that it was errors in Law they were principally providing against, and not at Vacating the King's just Titles; and the providing against these errors in law was done by the King's giving his assent to an Act passed

Stat. 10. ed. in this very session, which a careful Writer would have
 Car. Sess. observed: But that would not answer your purpose of cast-
 a. chap. 3. ing Dirt. I will recite you some parts of this Act, which may
 possibly evince what I say: It is intituled An Act for con-
 firming of Letters-patents *hereafter* to be passed upon his Ma-
 jesty's Commission of Grace for the Remedy of defective
 Titles. You see, Sir, neither the Parliament nor the King
 intended to take away the claims that the Crown had by an-
 tecedent titles, but to Titles *thereafter* to be passed, i. e. after
 assent given to this Act. The Act recites, " That
 " whereas the King is given to understand, that divers of
 " his Subjects, having Manors, &c. in use, possession &c.
 " are subject to question and exception, *either because*
 " *they can derive no Title from the Crown, or because their*
 " *Letters-patents mentioned to be passed are insufficient in*
 " *Law, defective, doubtful, or not so plain,* but that both for
 " the present, and in future, much disquiet may arise to the
 " Owners, or *pretended Owners* of such Manors, &c. which
 " also may be a reason for discouraging them from impro-
 " ving and husbanding their Lands, which turns to the
 " damage of the Common-wealth; and his Majesty
 " minding to do favour to his Subjects, and to establish
 " their Estates without further question *hereafter*, hath
 " pleased, that the Lord Deputy, and other Commissioners
 " authorized, and to be authorized, should take Order
 " *upon Composition for Fines or Rents, or both, to establish the*
 " *said Manors, &c. by Letters patent to be granted thereof,*
 " according as in the said Letters patent *shall be expressed.* In
 " performance of which some *Compositions* of that Nature
 " have been already made, and others are intended to be
 " made; whereupon Letters-patent may be passed as aforesaid.
 " Be it therefore enacted, that all and every Person or Per-
 " sons shall and may have and enjoy all such Manors &c. ac-
 " cording to the purport of the said Letters-patent, for such
 " Fines, Rents, Reservations, and Duties, as by the let-
 " ters patent shall be limited and appointed, and that the
 " said Letters-patent, and every of them, shall stand and be
 " ratified by the Authority of this Parliament, and be of
 " force to bind and conclude the King, his Heirs, and Suc-
 " cessors, and all other Parties, their Heirs, and Assigns, &c."
 This Act is a good exposition of the Representation,
 on which you lay so much weight. You see by the Title
 that it extends to Letters-patent *hereafter* to be passed, and
 by the Body of the Act, to such Letters-patent as had been
 before passed, for which compositions had been made by

Fines or Rents before Commissioners for that Purpose appointed, or to be appointed. You observe the Expressions in the Act respect the future time—*hereafter*—Compositions *to be made* for Fines or Rents—*shall be limited—shall stand* and be ratified.—So that the plain Intention did not tend to divest the King of his antient Right without giving him a Consideration either by paying Fines, or advancing Rents. So that in Truth the Argument you would draw from this Representation is inconsequential, and concludes nothing, and rather establishes the King's antient Titles, than in any thing hurts them. But you seem, Sir, to wave ¹ this Point, well knowing it would not bear a Debate, under Pretence that it would be too tedious ^{6.} to enlarge upon the Business of *defective Titles*, and therefore we are agreed therein at present, until you think proper to start it again.

Pap. Nor shall I quit it easily, as light as you make of it. Have you any thing to say to the Proceedings of Sir Arthur Chichester in the Reign of King James I. and of the Lord Falkland in the Reign of King Charles I. upon this Business of defective Titles?

Prot. You have furnished me with an Answer from the Mouth of the *Dissenter* in your Dialogue ^k, namely, “ that ^k *Ibid. p.* “ these Lord Deputies only acted the Part of faithful Ser- ^{8.} “ vants to the Crown;” which must be the Case, unless you can think it just, that Servants should betray the Rights of their Masters. But here your Church-Combatant slides from the Objection, I suppose thinking it unanswerable, and contents himself with telling us how nobly these two Lords Deputies were rewarded, Sir Arthur Chichester with Land, which in the Year 1638 was of the yearly Value of 10,000 l. and the Lord Falkland with 10,000 l. at one Gift.

Pap. Have you any thing to object to that? Or will you, who seem to be in a Disposition to litigate every thing, contest the Truth of it?

Prot. I will not, Sir, and am ready to submit to the Truth of what you say. But, is it a Crime in a King to reward meriting Subjects? Had you spit out your little Spleen upon such Chief Governors as had been notoriously unfortunate, or faulty, or such who had lost Battles, pillaged the Subject, destroyed Trade, or reduced the Kingdom to the last Gasps, it would have been something tolerable. But you have pitched upon a Brace of Worthies to vilify, who perhaps may not be easily equalled from the

1 M. S.
College
No. 4. p.
80.

the beginning of the *English* Monarchy here to their own times. Let us take a short View of the Actions of these two Governors. Sir *Arthur Chichester* auspicated his entrance into the Government by a Proclamation¹ fraught with as much Wisdom as could possibly be contrived; 1st, by granting a general Pardon; 2dly, by receiving all his Majesty's inferior Subjects, their Lands and Goods, into his Protection, against the Oppressions and unlawful Exactions of their chief Lords, and from the Extortions of Sheriffs and Officers. 3dly, He destroyed all arbitrary and unlawful *Cuttings* and *Cosherings*, as things barbarous, unreasonable, and intolerable. 4thly, He prohibited the great *Irish* Lords of *Ulster* from injuring their Tenants for Debt, Trespass, or private Displeasure, without a lawful Warrant from the Ministers of Justice, and from levying Fines on their Tenants by any ways not warranted by the Laws, and from using their Tenants otherwise than as Freemen, and the Tenants from removing their Herds from the Lands of their Lords until they had satisfied all Arrears of Rent. 5thly, He lets all Tenants and Inhabitants know, that they, their Wives, and Children, are the free, natural, and immediate Subjects of the King, and were not to be reputed the Natives or Followers of any other Lord or Chieftain; that no Person by reason of any Seignior, or colour of any Prescription, had any Interest in the Bodies or Goods of any of them; but that all the Power of the Lords was derived from the Grace and Bounty of the King, who could make the meanest Subject as great and mighty as the best, if he deserved it. But at the same time he declared, that the King would not protect any Tenant in insolent Carriage to his Lord, and that his Majesty would no longer continue his Protection to them, than they should be loyal and depend upon his Laws; and that if they met any Aggrievance, Oppression, or Exaction from the Lords, that they should complain to the Judges of Assize, to the Governors of the County, or the Sheriffs, whom he commanded to examine into their Wrongs, and report them to the Lord Deputy and Council, that Redress may be given, and the Offenders punished. What say you to this, Sir? It seems to be the early dawn of Reformation and Prosperity to *Ireland*, by which the great Power of the Chieftains was taken away, and the Subject taught to pay their Obedience to the Crown, where it was naturally due.

Pap. I must confess it was a wise and noble Step, and tended more to the Reformation of the Kingdom, than any thing that had been done towards it for upwards of 500 Years.

Prot. He this Year took another Step towards a further Reformation, by establishing the Execution of publick Justice in every Part of the Kingdom. The Circuits of the Judges had been appointed and passed through the *English* Pale ever since the Introduction of the *English* Laws into *Ireland*. The Lord Deputy *Carey* ^m, in the first Year of the Reign of King *James*, sent Judges into the northern Parts; and now Sir *Arthur Chichester* revived the antient Circuits in *Munster* and *Connaught*, which had been discontinued for more than 200 Years before; and thus the Streams of publick Justice were derived into every Part of the Kingdom, and the Protection of the Laws of *England* communicated to all, as well *Irish* as *English*, without respect of Persons.

^m Davis's
Hist. Rel.
P. 55.

Pap. This also must be owned to be a good Action. You will make me in Love with the Memory of *Chichester*, of whom I have been taught ⁿ to think meanly, as ⁿ an open Adversary of the *Irish*, and an Enemy of their Peace and Liberty.

ⁿ Roth's
Analect.
p. 236,

Prot. If you hearken to your bigotted Priests, you will ever be led astray. I will tell you one thing more of this good Lord Deputy, which was of infinite Advantage to the Peace and Welfare of *Ireland*. By a special Law ^o made in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Lord Deputy was enabled to take Surrenders from, and make Re-grants of Estates to the *Irish* Lords. Yet few made offers to surrender ^p during her Reign (I think but six such appear ^p in the Records) and they who did surrender obtained Re-grants of the Whole, and that in Demesne, without any Care taken of the inferior Septs, who held their Portions in course of *Tanistry* and *Gavelkind*, and yielded the same *Irish* Exactions to the chief Lords as they did before; so that upon every such Surrender and Re-grant there was but one Freeholder made in a whole Territory, who was the Lord himself, all the rest being Tenants at Will, or rather Tenants in Villenage, and were neither qualified to be sworn on Juries, or to perform any publick Service. It followed from thence, that their Dependence must still be on the Lord, and from the Incertainty of their Estates they of Course neglected to build, plant, or improve the

^o Stat. 12.
Eliz. Sess.
2. Cap. 4.

^p Dav.
ibid. p.
57.

1 Stat. 11.
Eliz.
Chap. 7.

Land; and therefore, though the Lord was become Tenant to the Crown, yet his Country was not in the least reformed thereby; but remained in the former Barbarism and Desolation. In the Queen's time there were many *Irish* Lords who did not surrender, yet obtained the Captainships of their Countries, the Statute ¹ for abolishing those Captainships giving Power to the Lord Deputy to grant the same by Patent. However the *Irish* Captains, and the *English* Seneschals of *Irish* Countries, by colour of these Grants claimed an *Irish* Seignior, and exercised Tyranny over the common People; the Consequence of which was this: Where before they oppressed the People under colour of a barbarous Custom, they now did the same by Warrant under the Great Seal; which was far from tending to Reformation. But now the Lord Deputy *Chichester* obtained two special Commissions, one for accepting Surrenders of the *Irish* and degenerate *English*, and for regranting Estates to them according to the Course of the Common Law, the other, for strengthening of defective Titles, in the Execution of which he always took Care to settle and secure the inferior Tenants, in order to the Establishment and Repose of the Estates of every Subject, Lord and Tenant, Freeholder and Farmer, throughout the Kingdom; and this of course transferred the Dependency of the inferior People from the great Lords to the Crown, which must be acknowledged to be a wise and beneficial Course. The Steps he now took upon Surrenders were these. When any *Irish* Lord offered to surrender his Country, his Surrender was not immediately accepted, but a Commission issued to inquire, 1st, of the Limits of the Land, whereof he was reputed Owner, 2dly, how much he held in Demesne, and how much was possessed by his Tenants and Followers, and 3dly, what Customs, Duties, and Services he yearly received out of those Lands. The Inquisition being returned, the Lands, which were found to be his in Demesne, were drawn into a *Particular*, and his *Irish* Duties, as *Cosherings*, *Seffings*, *Rents of Butter*, and *Oat-meal*, &c. were valued, and reduced into certain Sums, to be payed yearly in lieu thereof. Then the Surrender was accepted, and a Grant passed, not of the whole Country, as was formerly used, but of those Lands only, which were found to be in the Lord's Possession, and of those certain Sums of Money, as Rents issuing out of the rest; and the Lands found to be possessed by the Tenants were left unto them respectively, charged with these certain

certain Rents in lieu of all incertain *Irish* Exactions. In like manner, upon all Grants made by Virtue of the Commission of defective Titles, he took special Care to preserve the Estates of all inferior Tenants; and though he had as much Power as any of his Predecessors to grant *Captainships* in the *Irish* Territories, yet he disregarded his private Profit therein, passed no such Grants, but endeavoured to resume all that had been made by his Predecessors. Though the King himself projected the Plantation of *Ulster*, yet the Conduct and Execution of the whole was left to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, and by inspecting the Roll's Office you may find him a subscribing Commissioner to all the Inquisitions found upon that Occasion; so that his personal travail was not wanting to promote the Service of this Country. I omit to mention the increase of the Revenue by his Care and Management, which amounted to double the Proportion it was in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, in a great measure owing to his Encouragement of Trade, and his Care to increase a civil Commerce and Intercourse between the Subjects newly reformed, and brought under Obedience: And if Respect be had to his martial Affairs and Politicks, we shall find that he drove the fugitive Earls out of the Kingdom without drawing Blood, and by his Vigilance in a few Months vanquished the Rebel *O-Dogherty*, whose whole Estate was granted^r to him in Consideration of his great^r Privy and eminent Services. Will then any good and considerate Subject repine, as you have done^t, at the Rewards^{21st, 1610} given to a Gentleman, who had merited so much from^c Dial. p. his King, and this Country, when he sees the greatest⁸ Part of the Possessions, as well of the *Irish* as of the *English*, in the three Provinces of *Leinster*, *Connaught* and *Munster*, secured and settled in the several Proprietors, and that noble Plantation made in *Ulster*. Will he think much of these Grants, when he finds the Hearts of the People also settled, not only to live in Peace, but raised and encouraged to build, to plant, to give better Education to their Children, and to improve the Commodities of their Lands; whereby we are told by a Witness then living^c Dav. "that the yearly Value of Lands during his Government Hist. Rel: were increased double what they were in a few Years P. 58. "before, and were then likely to rise daily higher, 'till "they amounted to the price of Lands in *England*?" This would probably have been the Case, if the Peace and

quillity of the the Nation, which he endeavoured to make perpetual, had not been interrupted by two Rebellions; and we may well judge so from what is at present the Condition of the Kingdom, the Foundation of which happiness was laid by the Lord Deputy *Chichester*, and improved by other good Governors.

Pap. You have cleared the Point greatly with regard to Sir *Arthur Chichester*; but can you say so much of the Lord *Falkland's* Grant of 10,000*l.* made to him at one time? Did he also deserve so great a Favour?

Prot. I think he deserved well of his King and Country. You make Lord *Strafford* your Evidence in every thing that impeaches himself, and I am at Liberty to call upon him for what relates to Lord *Falkland*, who, he says *
 * *Tryal.* “ proceeded in *Ireland* as honourably, justly, and nobly,
 * *Rushw. p.* “ as any Man could do.” Quiet times do not afford Matter
 160. for great Actions. His Government was disturbed by no Rebellions, and therefore we shall not inquire after his Virtues in a military Capacity. But he was a true Protestant, and I fancy I have found the Reasons why you think much of the King's Bounty to him. The Insolencies of the Papists obliged him at times to execute the Laws against them with some Rigour; yet that might have been passed over in Consideration of the Graces he was the Instrument of obtaining for the Subject both Protestant and Papist in 1627. But to give a full Answer to your Sneer in a few Words, shall you, or I, or any other Subject, pretend to shorten the King's Hand in distributing his Favours? Or to think that he is not a Judge of the Merit of a Person on whom he confers them?

Pap. Well, Sir, will you undertake to defend the Lord *Wentworth*, afterwards created Earl of *Strafford*, from his arbitrary and tyrannical Proceedings in the Business of the defective Titles, which he *probably* * exercised in hopes of obtaining an equal Recompence with the two other Lords Deputies?

Prot. Your Argument drawn from *Probability* is exceeding weak, and what no Man of Candor would offer. A probable Opinion is at best problematical, and may be asserted either in the Affirmative or Negative; so that if I should deny your Probability you are fully answered. But he clears himself of any Expectations of meeting such Rewards, as the former Deputies did, by saying *, “ that he
 * *Let.* “ never coveted more than the inherent Rights and Honours
 Vol. 2. p. “ belonging
 294.

“ belonging to his place of Deputy.” I shall not take upon me to defend the Lord Deputy *Wentworth* in all his Actions, many of which, I confess, were sufficiently arbitrary, as Monopolies, Pre-emptions, Proceedings in the Castle-chamber, and Privy-council, and augmenting the Book of Rates, &c. insomuch, that he tells us himself ⁷; ⁷ Ibid. p. 20.
 “ that some People endeavoured to possess the World;”
 “ that he was rather a *Basha* of *Buda*, than the Minister
 “ of a pious and christian King.” But take this along with you, that these arbitrary Proceedings affected the Protestants much more than the Papists.

Pap. But can you excuse his unjust and arbitrary Proceedings upon the Commission of defective Titles in Relation to the Estates of the Natives, which their Forefathers had quietly enjoyed for many Centuries. First he proposed ² the raising of 500 Horse as *good Lookers-on*: ² Dial. p. 9.
 2dly, He resolved to treat with such as might give furtherance in finding the King's Title. 3dly, He inquired out fit Men to serve upon Juries upon that Occasion. 4thly, He granted four Shillings in the Pound to the Chief Justice and Chief Baron payable out of the first yearly Rents raised upon that Commission. For which Reward they intended that Business, says he, with a Care and Diligence, as if it were their own private. 5thly, in the County of *Galway*, where the Jury refused to find the Title in the King, he fined the Sheriff, who returned the Jury, in 1000 l. and bound over the Jury to answer in the Castle-chamber, “ where, says he, We conceive it fit that their “ *pertinacious Carriage* be followed with all just severity.” What Answer can you make to these Instances?

Prot. I told you before, that I would not take upon me to defend the Lord Deputy *Wentworth* in all his Actions. Yet in these Instances you recite, he was not so arbitrary as you would make him. In Answer to your first Charge, as you before added an hundred Years ² to ² Answ. p. 52.
 the Enjoyment of those Proprietors of defective Titles, so now you have added an hundred Men to the Horse, which the Lord *Wentworth* proposed to raise as *good Lookers-on*. On what? Not, as you would insinuate, to intimidate the Gentlemen of the Jury or Country, to oblige them to find the King's Title right or wrong; that could not be the Reason; because the Proceedings upon the Commission of Defective Titles were held three Years before this Advice, the former being in the Year 1635 ^b, and ^b Lett. v. the 1. p. 150.

c Ib. v. 2. the Advice for additional Horse Troops in 1638 c. But
 p. 198. he explains it himself in the same place, namely, “ that
 “ those Horse Troops would not only be *fit Lookers-on*
 “ (not to forward the Progress of the Inquisition, which
 “ was over) *whilst the Plantations are settling*, but in all
 “ times tend extreamly much, both to contain *the Subject*
 “ *in their due Obedience, and to secure them from any*
 “ *foreign Invasion.*” And he further explains himself in
 a Postscript to that Letter, “ *That these Troops, which he*
 “ *advised to be raised, would be for the Service of the*
 “ *Crown, and for securing the Peace of the Kingdom.*”
 So that the raising these Troops with an Intention to awe
 the Country to find those defective Titles seems to be a
 little out of Season.

Your 2d Objection or Observation, call it which you
 will, does not appear to be very clear, nor what his In-
 tention was in telling the Lord Treasurer of *England*,
 “ that he would treat with such as may give Furtherance
 “ in finding the King’s Title.” The beginning of that
 Sentence may, perhaps, give some Light into his meaning.
 “ I will redeem the time, says he, as much as can be,
 “ and treat, &c.” From whence it would seem, that
 the Lord Treasurer had reproached him with his Delay in
 that Service, and his Answer appears to be an Apology for
 that Delay, and that for the time to come he would double
 his Diligence by treating with such as might give further-
 ance to the King’s Title. Can it be thought, that he
 would treat with the Possessors to betray their own Titles?
 This is absurd, otherwise than to lay before them the
 King’s Title, and let them know the Consequence of
 giving Opposition, in regard to their obtaining harder
 Terms upon a Composition, or upon the Settlement of a
 new Plantation. I can make nothing else of this, nor
 can I see any Matter for Reproach in the Proceeding;
 it is like proposing a Reference between two contending
 Parties at Law; which rather may be considered in the
 Light of a friendly Act.

Your 3d Observation, namely, his inquiring out fit
 Men to serve upon Juries on that Occasion, seems to in-
 sinuate, as if he intended to make use of Corruption and
 Bribery to advance the Service.—A reproach of the blackest
 Dye, if it could be supported. For my part, I think the
 natural Sense of the Words is no more, than that he
 would take Care, that no Person interested in the Lands
 in

in question should be admitted to serve on the Jury ; and this I fancy you and I would have an Eye to in the Trial of the Title of our Inheritances, without being subject to any invidious Reproach. It is manifest he took no care in corrupting the Jury from the Verdict they found against the King's Title in the County of *Galway*.

Your 4th Observation carries as little weight as the former, the force of which is this, “ that he obtained a Grant “ from the King of 4 s. in the Pound to the Chief Justice and Chief Baron forth of the first yearly Rent raised upon the Commission of defective Titles, which Money, says his Lordship, I find to be the best given that ever was ; for they intend that Business with a Care and Diligence , as if it were their own private.” You should have considered, Sir, when you made this Objection, that Rewards and Punishments are two of the great Engines of Government, the one to encourage Men in their Duty, and the other to terrify them from transgressing it. One would think you were of Opinion, that these two Judges were intended to be Jury-men : Whereas I can see nothing in which they could be of Use, but as Commissioners to preside at the holding of the Inquisition, and to see the Title of the King laid fairly before the Jury. Their Reward was nothing more than what is given in the common case. Heretofore the Judges of the Four-Courts (as they have now) had a certain Salary for dispatching the Justice of the Nation ; but when they were sent as Justices Itinerant through the Kingdom, they were allowed an Augmentation to their Salaries for their extraordinary Labour, and that paid out of the *Fines and Forfeitures accruing in their Circuits*. I would not for proof of this send you up again to *Birmingham Tower*, on account of the difficulty of the Journey. But, if you will take my Word for it, you will find numberless Instances of this in the Plea-Rolls during several Reigns ; if not, you must even be at the pains of searching as I have been. Now can you imagine, that these Itinerant Judges acted awry, by increasing Fines on the Subject, or finding their Forfeitures, because they were to be paid their Appointments out of them ? It is an unworthy Supposition. The case is the same in regard to the Chief Justice and Chief Baron, who were allowed 4 s. in the Pound out of the first Profits raised upon that Commission——a precarious Fund,

Fund, and which does not seem to have turned much to their Account.

Pap. I suppose you will have little to say to my 5th Ob-
 * Dial. p. jection, namely, “ his fining ^a the Sheriff 1000 *l.* for re-
 9. “ turning a Jury, that refused to dispossess the Natives,
 “ and find the Title in the King, and binding over the
 “ Jury to answer in the *Castle-Chamber*, where it is fit
 * Straff, “ (says he ^c, in his Letter to Secretary *Coke*) that their
 Let. v. 1. “ pertinacious Carriage be followed with all just Seve-
 P. 451. “ rity.”

Prot. Perhaps I have more to say to this Article, than
 you imagine, though I told you before I am no Advocate
 for the Lord Deputy. You might have informed us from
 the same Page, from whence you have taken your Autho-
 rity, (which you have disingenuously stifled, as not perti-
 nent to your purpose) “ that the Sheriff was fined for re-
 “ turning an insufficient and packed Jury upon a Business
 “ of so great Weight and Consequence.” You cannot say
 this was illegal or improper. The Power and Influence
 of the Earl of *Clanrickard* in this County, though he was
 then absent in *England*, is much to be considered in
 the Event of this Verdict. His Estate was very large,
 which, if the King's Title had been found, would be sub-
 ject to the Plantation. His Dependants were numerous,
 and he was Governor ^f both of the County and Town of
Galway, which was, in the nature of it, little less than a
 County-Palatine; so that nothing in an ordinary Pro-
 ceeding could move there without him. Most of the Ju-
 rors were of his Kindred or Alliance, or Tenants, or De-
 pendants on him; particularly his Nephew *Richard Bourke*,
 and his Agent or Steward *John Donellan*, who were both
 of the Jury, and very active in influencing their Compa-
 nions to find against the King's Title. From hence ap-
 pears, that neither the Lord Deputy, nor the Chief Justice
 nor Chief Baron, did take common pains in relation to the
 Jury, as you object to them. The Instance you give of
 binding over the Jury to the *Castle-Chamber* for their perti-
 nacious Carriage, or, if you will, their *Perjury*, has no-
 thing in it extraordinary, but was the Law and Practice of
 those Times. If you turn to Mr. *Camden* ^g you may see
 * Britan. the Antiquity and Jurisdiction of the Court of *Star-*
 p. cclv. *Chamber*, the same with our *Castle-Chamber*: For he says,
 Eng Edit. “ that it was in Age the most antient, and in Dignity the
 “ most honourable of all the Courts, and seems to be as
 “ early as Appeals from the Subject to their Sovereign, and
 “ the

^f Ibid.

^g Britan.
 p. cclv.
 Eng Edit.

“ the Birth and Rise of the King’s Council ; and that it
 “ took Cognizance of all Matters criminal, *Perjuries*,
 “ *Impostures*, *Cheats*, *Excesses*, &c.” By Statute-Laws ^{1. 3. Hen.}
 it was provided, “ that the Chancellor, assisted by ^{7. chap. 1.}
 “ others named in the Statutes, should have Power ^{21. Hen.}
 “ to punish Routs, Riots, Forgeries, Maintenances, Em- ^{8. Chap.}
 “ braceries, *Perjuries*, and such other Misdemeanors, as ^{2.}
 “ were not sufficiently provided for by the Common-Law,
 “ and for which the inferior Judges are not so proper
 “ to give Correction.” You see, Sir, the Power of the
Castle-Chamber Court, as it then stood ; and if you will
 take the pains to inspect into a Manuscript Collection of
 Reports deposited by Sir *Jerom Alexander* in a Library
 founded and endowed by himself in the College of *Dub-*
lin, you may see many *Castle-Chamber* Cases of Juries pun-
 ished for finding Verdicts against Evidence.

Pap. But I have an Objection to make to this Court ;
 though it appears to have been a very antient Court in
England, and to have its Authority confirmed and establish-
 ed by Acts of Parliament there ; yet in *Ireland* it had no
 Existence till of latter Times, and had no Acts of Parlia-
 ment to countenance it : So that it seems to be an Invasi-
 on on the Liberties of the Subject.

Prot. Your Objection carries some Colour ; yet none
 that upon examination will hold Water. By Lord *Veru-*
lam’s Account of this Court it appears, that it subsisted ^{1. Hist. of}
 by the antient Common-Laws of the Realm, and was ^{Hen. 7. p.}
 afterwards confirmed by Acts of Parliament. This being ^{63.}
 admitted, it will follow, that by the Grant of King *Hen-*
ry II. to *Ireland* of the Laws of *England*, this Court, a-
 mong others, was granted, though never formally establish-
 ed, and carried into execution, till the time of King
James I. who by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of
England, dated the 10th Day of *August* in the first Year
 of his Reign [1603] reciting, “ that he taking into con-
 “ sideration the State of *Ireland*, found, that by unlawful
 “ Maintenances, Imbraceries, Confederacies, Alliances,
 “ false bandings, and taking of Money by Jurors, and
 “ also by untrue demeaning of Sheriffs in making of Pan-
 “ nels, and other untrue Returns, and by Riots, Routs,
 “ unlawful Assemblies, and other like hateful Disorders,
 “ Misdemeanors, Contempts, Defaults, and Offences,
 “ the Policy and Good-rule of that Realm were near
 “ subverted, and for not punishing of those Inconvenien-
 “ cies,

“ cies, and by occasion of the Premisses, nothing, or
 “ very little, was or might be there found by Inquiry,
 “ whereby the Laws could have little Effect, but there
 “ ensued increase of Murders, *Perjuries*, and unfureties
 “ of the Subjects of that Realm, and loss of their Lands
 “ and Goods ; for the better Remedy whereof, and that
 “ such execrable Evils should not escape without due Cor-
 “ rection and Punishment, the said King did appoint, that
 “ a particular Court for the hearing and determining of
 “ these detestable Enormities should be holden within the
 “ Castle of *Dublin*, or in such other place, where the or-
 “ dinary Terms should be kept, and that the same Court
 “ should be named the Court of *Castle-Chamber*.” And
 so he specifies the Offences of which the said Court should
 have cognizance, namely, such as he before recited. King
Charles I. by Letters-patent also dated in *England* on the
 first of *October* in the first Year of his Reign, continued
 this Court established by his Father. I will not send you
 to *England* to consult these Letters-patent, but will di-
 rect you to the Manuscripts of Sir *Ferom Alexander* before
 mentioned. Now, Sir, if you take into consideration the
 great Offence of this *Galway* Jury in finding a Verdict in
 direct opposition to the clearest Evidence, namely, the E-
 vidence of Records (for in the nature of the Case no other
 could be offered) you will not so rashly put it into the Mouth
 of your *Dissenter* to say ^k, that these Proceedings were not
 very equi able.

^k Dial. p.
 10.

^l Ibid. *Pap.* By these arbitrary Proceedings of the Lord Deput-
ty Wentworth ^l, namely, by Inquisitions, Fines, *Castle-*
Chamber Proceedings, &c. he deprived many of the *Irish*
Papists of their Estates, and seized upon them for the
 King's Use ; and he attempted to do the like in the intire
 Counties of *Roscommon*, *Mayo*, and *Cork*, with some parts
 of *Tipperary*, *Wicklown*, and other Places ; although his
 Majesty had in the Year 1628 given his Promise (in confi-
 deration of 270,000 l. by them freely given to him) to
 secure them in their Estates against all such enquiries, and
 to have that his Grace, and many others, past into Laws at
 the next meeting of the Parliament ; from which he was
 dissuaded by the pressing and constant Sollicitations of the
 Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, who, notwithstanding the King's
 Royal Word, the best of Assurances (as the Commons in
 their Representation say) used all the Means in his power
 to prevent it, and even offered his Majesty to take upon
 himself

himself all the Blame and Scandal, which he knew must attend so unjust and perfidious a Denial ; for which he soon after received a Letter under the King's own Hand of Thanks and Approbation. How then, Sir, was this Treatment consistent with the blessed and happy Condition, which the Lord *Clarendon* tells us the *Irish* enjoyed in their Temporal Affairs at that juncture.

Prot. This long Objection is complicated of many parts, and therefore must be taken asunder. You say, that by these Proceedings (i. e. the Inquisitions held in the County of *Galway*, the fining the Sheriff, and returning the Jury into the *Castle-Chamber*, &c.) many of the *Irish Papists* were actually deprived of their Estates ; and from hence you would insinuate, that the same was done by Violence, Fraud, and without any Colour of Law : But you slip over without the least Notice, that what was done upon this Occasion was only asserting the legal Title the King had to these Lands, which I have fully set forth before^m. You next say, “ that the Lord Deputy at-^m *Ans.* “ tempted to do the like on the entire Counties of *Ros-* p. 49. “ *common, Mayo, and Cork*, with some parts of *Tipperary, Wicklow*, and other places.” I shall say little to the four latter of these Counties, because you bring them in only as it were by the by ; yet I could demonstrate, if it were necessary, that the King's Title to them was as legally bottomed as to any of the others. You say he attempted upon the Counties of *Roscommon* and *Mayo*, you might have added *Sligo*. By putting this in the Light of an Attempt only, you mean to insinuate, that he miscarried there, as he did in *Galway*. Know then, Sir, that the Counties of *Roscommon, Mayo, and Sligo*, unanimously and cheerfully foundⁿ the King's Title, reserving the Bene-ⁿ *Straff.* fit of all their valid Patents, a thing but just and reasona- *Let. v. 1.* ble ; and their Judgments were so wrought upon by the p. 451. clear and manifest Evidence of the Title, namely, the Records before mentioned, that they chose rather to embrace the Truth, and forego their own Interests, which were so nearly concerned, than wound their Consciences, by going in opposition to the Evidence : And for this good Behaviour they were recommended^o by the Lord Deputy^o *Ib. and* to his Majesty, and obtained his Favour, and an easy Com- p. 464. position. But the great Power of the Lord *Clanrickard*, and a corrupt Sheriff, gave a different ply to the Consciences of the *Galway* Jury, which no Evidence, though the

same was offered as in the other Counties, could prevail on to find for the King; insomuch that the Lord *Glanmorris*, Nephew to the Lord *Glanrickard*, vaunted before the Verdict was brought in, "that they would have given a great Sum of Money, that the Crown had began in the County of *Galway*, that so, by not finding the King's Title there, the other Counties might have taken Example to do the like." The Lord Deputy put this matter into a legal Proceeding in the Exchequer; but the Interest of the young Lord *Glanrickard* with the King (his Father being lately dead) in a great measure defeated the Benefit that would have arose by the Plantation.

Next you object to the King a breach of Promise, made, in consideration of the Sum of 270,000 *l.*, of securing the *Irish* in their Estates against all such Inquiries, and of having that his Grace, and others, passed into Laws at the next Parliament; from which he was dissuaded by the pressing Sollicitations of the Lord Deputy, who offered to take the Blame and Scandal of such a perfidious Breach of Promise on himself. There, Sir, you ought to have stopped, and blamed the Minister for over-ruling the King's Inclinations, for which no body would have condemned you: But you proceed in making the King an Accomplise in the Perfidy, "and that the Deputy soon after received a Letter from his Majesty, of Thanks and Approbation for this unjust and perfidious Denial." I will avoid giving the proper Epithet to this poisoned Arrow. There is a Decency due to crowned Heads, even in their Graves, and though an Historian may be justified in setting forth their Actions in a true Light, yet it should be done without Scurrility or rancor of Expression. But let us consider the Force of this wonderful Objection, First, I wish you had explained what you mean by the Consideration of 270,000 *l.* which I must pass over, because I do not understand it. Secondly, I must observe, that you would have one understand, that no body but Papists were aggrieved in the whole Kingdom, and that the promised Graces were denied to be performed only to them. This I have taken Notice of before, and shall be silent on the point now, because a more material Answer occurs. I confess your Charge as to this particular Grace, but then I must aver to you, that his Majesty was deceived in making this Promise, and consequently was not bound by it. This Answer makes you stare, and you are not

not to be blamed for Ignorance in a Point of Law ; which, though you do not find in the Reports of *Galen* or *Paracelsus*, I will refer you for it to those of a much greater Man, the Lord Chief Justice *Coke* ¹ given from the Result of ¹ Rep. vol all the Judges of *England* in the Exchequer Chamber upon ¹ p. 44 in solemn Debate ; namely, “ Where the King is deceived Alen- “ in his Grant (and the same holds good in his Promise) wood’s “ the Grant is void.” And this is grounded upon good Case. Reason ; because, his Majesty being attentive to the more weighty Affairs of Government, in minuter Matters, he must see with the Eyes, and hear with the Ears of his Ministers, for whose Injustice or Weakness he is not responsible.

Pap. But in the Instance before us how was the King deceived in his Promise ?

Prot. I will tell you in as few Words as I can, though it will be tedious enough ; for to make the Matter clear, I must look back to the 27th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, [1585] when a Commission issued ¹ giving Authority to ¹ Straff. Sir *Richard Bingham*, then Governor of *Connaught*, and 2 ¹ Let. v. 1. other Commissioners, to make a Composition between the ¹ p. 455. Queen and the Subject, and between the Lords and their Lib. Lam-Tenants of that Country, and of *Thomond*, for a Rent cer- beth. 19th tain to be paid out of every Quarter of Land therein in July 1585. lieu of all Manner of Incertain *Cesses*, *Cuttings*, and other *Exactions*, accustomed to be borne to the Queen and her Predecessors for the martial Government thereof ; and further the Commission impowered them to do in all things as to their Discretions should seem best, as well in the said Composition, as of the Division of the Baronies into Manors, and to devise all other things, that should tend to the general good and quiet of the Country, and the good Subjects of the same, which, after passing the same by *Indenture Tripartite* is meant to be ratified by Parliament. These are the only material Clauses in the Commission.

Pap. What was done, Sir, upon this Commission ?

Prot. *Indentures Bipartite* were entered into on the 2d of September following, whereby it appears, 1st. “ That “ the Lord Deputy *Perrot* did covenant on behalf of the “ Queen, that the Chieftains, Gentlemen, Freeholders, “ and Inhabitants, and every of them, and their Assigns, “ should from the Date of the said Indentures be exone- “ rated for ever from all *Cesses*, *Taxes*, *Charges*, *Ex- “ actions*, *Cuttings*, *Impositions*, *Purveying*, *Cating*, “ *Finding*, or bearing of Soldiers, and from all other “ Burdens, other than the Rent, Reservations, and “ Charges

“ and Charges in the Indentures specified, and to be enact-
 “ ed in Parliament; in Consideration whereof the said
 “ Chieftains, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants,
 “ did grant to the said Lord Deputy and his Heirs, to the
 “ Use of the Queen, her Heirs, and Successors, a yearly
 “ Rent-charge of ten Shillings *Sterling* out of every
 “ Quarter of Land within that Province. 2dly, They a-
 “ greed not only to answer for ever to all Hostings, Roads,
 “ and Journies within *Connaught*, at what time they should
 “ have Notice from the Government, 50 able, well-armed
 “ Foot-men upon their own Charges, besides the Rent
 “ aforesaid, and to all general Hostings proclaimed within
 “ the Realm 20 well-armed Footmen, furnished with
 “ Carriages and Victuals at their own Costs, during the
 “ time of the said general Hosting, if the Government
 “ required it. 3dly, That the Stiles and Titles of Cap-
 “ tainships and Taniotships, and all other *Irish* Jurisdic-
 “ tions, together with all Elections and customary Divisions
 “ of Lands, should be abolished, and that the Lands and
 “ Inheritances should lineally descend according to the
 “ Course of common Law. 4thly, That the Chieftains,
 “ Gentlemen, and Inhabitants should by Letters-patent
 “ have divers Lands in the Indentures specified free from
 “ the Composition, to be held by common Knight’s Ser-
 “ vice, and all Goods and Chattles of Felons, and other
 “ Casualties and Amerciaments.” These are all the Par-
 ticulars specified in the Indentures of Composition.

Pap. You cannot say, that Objections can arise from hence in regard to any Error, or Deceit to the Queen.

Prot. I am of a different Opinion, and think many material Objections may be made to this Indenture of Composition. 1st. By the Commission the Indentures ought to be *Tripartite*, namely between the Commissioners and Chieftains on the first Part, the Chieftains, and the Gentlemen, Freeholders and inferior Tenants on the second Part, and the Commissioners and the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and inferior Tenants on the third Part. And the Reason of this was, that the Dependencies of the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and inferior Tenants on the Chieftains should be weakened, and transferred to the Crown. But as the Indenture was *Bipartite*, and nothing passed between the Chieftains and them, their Dependencies were preserved as they were before, and this necessary Policy defeated. 2dly, A second Objection to this Indenture

ture of Composition is, that the Commission arms the Commissioners with a Power to compound for the *Cefs* and other Charges for the Army, and to reduce those incertain customary Demands into a certain Rent; but no Authority was given them to compound for or grant Lands. 3dly, The Consideration expressed in the Indentures of Composition is only the abolishing of *Cefs*, and those incertain Charges &c. on the one Part, and for a certain Rent to be yielded for them on the other Part, and no Consideration for any Grant of Lands. 4thly, The Composition, how illegal soever it was, was not performed by the Chieftains, and other Gentlemen, Freeholders, and inferior Tenants. 456. Ibid. p. For first they did not continue the Payment of this Composition Rent to the Crown. Secondly, They did not relinquish their *Irish* Customs, but continued their *Taniotships* and other *Irish* Jurisdictions, which they were obliged by the Composition to forsake; but in Lieu thereof took *Bonaught*, *Cuttings*, and other usurped illegal Impositions from their Tenants. Thirdly, They took out no Patents, neither suffered their Land to descend lineally according to the Course of the common Law, but in a great Part continued the Division of their Lands according to the Customs of the *Irish Gavelkind*. Fourthly, Instead of conforming themselves to the *English* Laws, most of them went into Rebellion, manned and fortified their Castles against the Queen, practised with Foreign Powers to invade the Land, and continued in Rebellion a long Time. Now, the Composition being for the Benefit and Ease of the Subject, and to the Loss of the Crown, ought to have been performed by them. Sixthly, There is no Engagement, that the inferior Freeholders should have Patents, nor the Chieftains neither, except in some few Instances, and that only of such Lands, wherein they were to have Freedoms and Exemptions by the Indentures of Composition.

Pap. And so for not exactly pursuing the Authorities given by the Commission, you would make the whole Composition, so beneficial, both for the Crown and Subject, void.

Prot. I do so. For in common Cases between Subject and Subject, the Authorities granted must be strictly pursued, or else the whole is erroneous and void. As if an Authority be granted to three jointly to do an Act, and two of them only execute it, all that is done is void. Much more is it so betwixt the King and the Subject; for if the King

King be in the least deceived in the Execution of a Power, every Step taken in it is void.

* Ibid. p.
457.

Pap. But all those erroneous Proceedings and Defects in the Execution of the Commission were rectified by other Proceedings afterwards had in the Reign of King *James I.* who by his Letter dated 21st July 1615, empowering Surrenders to be taken, recites : “ that there was granted
“ by Indentures of Composition to Queen *Elizabeth*, and
“ her Successors, a certain yearly Sum of Money out of
“ every Quarter of Land in *Connaught*, Freedoms only
“ excepted ; whereby it was meant, that the Inhabitants
“ should have Letters-patent to confirm their Estates.
“ 2dly, that as the Inhabitants duly observe the Conditions
“ in paying the reserved Sums, and are contented to continue
“ so to do ; but by reason of the Wars have not hitherto
“ had means to pass their said Lands by Patent, as was
“ intended they should, but that they have been Suitors
“ to the King to grant them that Grace. 3dly, that
“ thereupon the King held himself bound in Honour to
“ perform what Queen *Elizabeth* intended them, in re-
“ gard to the great yearly Revenue, which he received out
“ of that Country, by virtue of the Composition, and for
“ that cause, condescended to their Request, and by his
“ Letter gave the following directions. First, to inquire
“ by Commissions what quantity of Lands every of the
“ said Inhabitants were seized of, and upon return there-
“ of to accept Surrenders of so much thereof, as the said
“ Persons should offer to surrender, and to cause Letters-
“ patent to be made thereof, with a Reservation to the
“ King, and his Successors of the said Composition Roy-
“ al mentioned in the Indentures of Queen *Elizabeth*,
“ and such other Rents and Duties as were then answered
“ to the King, to be holden by common Knight’s Service,
“ with a Clause that no mention should be made of the
“ Surrenders, 2dly, That in the said Grants shall be con-
“ tained several Pardons and Grants of their several In-
“ trusions, Fines for Alienations without Licence, mesne
“ Profits, Reliefs, sums for respite of Homage, concealed
“ Wardships, or that the Deputy give them such other ef-
“ fectual Discharges, as should free them, and their Heirs,
“ from all future Trouble in any of the King’s Courts,
“ with a Proviso, that they should first make some mode-
“ rate Compositions for their said several Intrusions with
“ such Patentees, or their Assignees, to whom any Grant

“ hath been made of the same, the fourth part of which
 “ Composition was to be reserved to the King.” I hope,
 Sir, you will be of Opinion, that this sets all matters of Er-
 rors and defects in the execution of the Commission of Queen
Elizabeth right, and that whatever deceit was imposed upon
 her Majesty therein, hath been now rectified.

Prot. Not in the least Sir, but hath rather been made
 worse. You will grant me, that Errors in the first concocti-
 on are hard to be removed. If this be so in Physical, it is
 no less so in Civil Cases; and here in the instance before us
 the Errors and Defects in Queen *Elizabeth*’s Composition
 extend to this Letter of King *James* I. The untrue sugges-
 tions and misinformations, whereupon the King’s Letter
 was obtained, render all proceedings thereon vitious; and
 this I shall make evident by a few Observations.

1st. As to the clause in the King’s Letter, that it was
 meant, and intended that the several Inhabitants should have
 Letters-patent to confirm their Estates, it appeareth upon
 the view of the Commission and Indentures of Queen *Eliza-
 beth*, that there was no such intention or meaning, nor had
 the Commissioners Authority to compound for, or grant,
 the said Lands, but only to compound for *Cesse*, and other
 Charges of the Army, and in lieu and consideration thereof
 to have a certain yearly Rent from the Possessors.

To the 2d. Allegation, namely, that the Inhabitants paid
 the Rents, and performed the Conditions on their parts, &c.
 this suggestion is untrue. For they did not pay the several
 Sums reserved by the Composition, but most of them took
 Arms, and went into Rebellion against the Crown, and so
 continued till the Death of the Queen. This is manifest
 from all the Histories and publick Dispatches of those Times.

3dly. That the King condescended to the request of the
 Inhabitants in respect to the great yearly Revenue, which
 he received out of that Composition. This, Sir, is ground-
 ed on a mistake, not to call it by a worse Name. Take a
 view of the Commission and Indentures of Composition, and
 you will see, that the Revenue mentioned was not intended
 to be any Rent for the grant of the Lands, but only a com-
 position in lieu of *Cesse*, and other military Charges.

4thly. That part of the King’s Letter, which warrants
 the issuing of Commissions of Inquiry, and accepting of Sur-
 renders, &c. is grounded upon a false suggestion, and conse-
 quently the proceedings had thereon are void. For the Inha-
 bitants had no Seisin, nor lawful possession, that they could
 surrender, being only intruders into the King’s Lands,

and therefore, no real Surrender being made, the Patents are void. But should I grant, as I do not, that their Estates and Surrenders were good, then by their Surrenders the Composition Rent is extinguished, and then the saving of the Composition is fruitless, and the King deceived, conceiving that he should have a great standing Revenue, which is lost by those Surrenders and Letters Patent, if they were good in Law.

5thly. Should it be alledged, that the Inhabitants paid great Sums of Money to the King for their Lands, an Answer readily occurs, namely, that those Sums were paid to discharge them of the mesne profits of Lands taken by them as Intruders, which exceeded the Value of the Lands, and were not taken for the Lands, nor for any Grant to be made thereof, and the Sums paid did not amount to the twentieth Part of what was due by them to the Crown for the mesne Profits by them received for so many Ages.

Pap. But can any thing be said to the Letters Patent grounded upon this the King's Letter of 1615, the Defects of which, if any there be, I suppose are cured by the subsequent Letters Patent.

Prot. You are mistaken in your Supposition. 1st. It appears by the preamble of the Letters Patent, that they are grounded upon, and refer to the King's Letter of 1615, which Letter was obtained, as is observed before, upon untrue Suggestions and Misinformations. And how is it possible to erect a firm Building upon an unsure Foundation?

2dly. If the Letter could be supposed to be valid, yet the Patent is not pursuant to it. For, first, by the Letter the Composition Rent, and all general and particular Hoftings ought to be reserved; and this ought to have been done effectually. But as the Patent is drawn, the Composition Rent and Hoftings are lost in Law. For neither the one nor the other are legally reserved or saved. The Composition is not reserved by way of Reservation, but only by a Saving, which, admitting that the Surrenders were good, was extinguished thereby, and could not be revived by a Saving. And, admitting there were no Surrenders, or that they were of no effect, then the Patent, and Saving, and all are void. For by the Letter the Patents were to be granted upon the Surrenders. Secondly, for the general and particular Hoftings, there is not so much as a Saving in the Patents; but only an exception out of a general Clause of Exoneration towards the end of the Patents, which is fruitless and void. This, Sir, explains

explains what is meant by several Commissions of Grace for remedy of defective Titles, which are not well understood from our Histories, and is also something of a Comment upon the Act of Parliament^a made for confirming Letters^a Stat. 10 Patent to be passed upon his Majesty's Commission of Grace Charles I. for remedy of defective Titles, which is before taken Notice Sess. 1. of. Now, Sir, are these legal Proceedings any way inconsistent with the blessed and happy Condition, which the Lord *Clarendon* tells us, the *Irish* enjoyed in their Temporal Affairs at that Juncture. chap 3.

Pap. You have introduced so much Law in your Discourse, that I profess it is out of my way to understand it. But I will employ some eminent Gentleman at the Bar to animadvert upon that Part of what you say.

Prot. Do so. But let me tell you beforehand, that though his Talents be ever so great, he will make lame Work of it for want of a solid Foundation.

Pap. Let us pass over these Temporal Affairs at present, and come to Spiritual Matters^w, in which, I believe, you^w Dial. p. will confess, "that the *Papists*, instead of enjoying an unin- 12. terrupted and publick Exercise of their Devotions, as your noble Historian would make the World believe they did, they could not obtain even a Toleration of it during a great Part of the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles*. For in the year 1629 that memorable Protestation, says *Borlace*^x, made by the Bishops against Po- x Reduct. pery, and published in Christ-Church *Dublin*, by Dr. of Ireland Downham, Bishop of *Derry*, was grateful." p. 204.

Prot. I must interrupt you a little to set you right in this particular. You place this Protestation in 1629, and are silent as to the Cause of it; but I will inform you of both. It was made^y at the Lord Primate's House on the 26th of November 1626 (and not in 1629, as you misreport from *Borlace*, who says no such thing) and the cause of making it was this: It was found difficult to support the Charge of maintaining the Army; and to make the *Papists* more willing to consent to a constant Tax for this Purpose, certain Propositions were set on foot in their favour, namely, To suspend all Proceedings against them for Marriages and Christenings by Priests, and to give them the Liberty of suing out *Liveries* and *Ouster le Mains* without taking the Oath of Supremacy, with other particulars, designed, to introduce a more publick toleration of their Religion; for which a good Sum of Money was to be paid to the King to maintain the

*ibid.

Army; to which end a great Assembly of the Nation was convoked by the Lord Deputy *Falkland*, and the Government, by means of the Purles of the Papists, and the protection of a new *Papish* Queen, were near being insnared into prejudicial Concessions, had not an unanimous and zealous Protestation subscribed by twelve Bishops, and pronounced to the State by Bishop *Downham* in the midst of his Sermon, stood in the Gap. It will strengthen your Argument to give you an Abstract of this Protestation, which is as follows * :

That the Religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their Faith and Doctrine erroneous and heretical; and their Church, in respect of both, apostatical: Therefore, to consent to a toleration of their Religion is a grievous Sin in two respects. 1st. It is to make ourselves Accessaries to their Superstitions, Idolatries, and Heresies, and to all the Abominations of Popery, but also to the Perdition of the seduced People, who perish in the deluge of the Catholick Apostacy. 2dly. To grant such a Toleration in respect of Money to be given, or Contribution to be made by them, is to set Religion to sale, and with it, the Souls of the People, whom Christ hath redeemed with his most precious Blood.

This Protestation drew a Remonstrance from the Commons of *England* to the King, to this effect. “ That the
“ Popish Religion was publicly professed in every part of
“ *Ireland*, and that Monasteries and Nunneries were there
“ newly erected, and filled with Votaries of both Sexes,
“ which would be of evil Consequence, unless seasonably
“ suppressed.”

You see, Sir, I have given you a lift over the Stile ; and you cannot but observe from hence, that your Religion was not in so deplorable a Condition at this time, as you would make the World believe, when you had Power sufficient to press for a publick Toleration; and when from the Remonstrance of the House of Commons of *England* aforesaid it appears, *that your Religion was publicly professed in every part of Ireland, and your Monasteries and Nunneries there newly erected, and filled with Votaries.*

Pap. Sure, Sir, you will not controvert the Evidence of
* Serm. on the Bishop of *Dromore*, now Bishop of *Meath*, who says ^a,
23 of Oct. “ that in the same Year with the Protestation of the Bi-
P. 17. “ shops, a strict Proclamation issued against the Exer-
“ cise of the Popish Rites and Ceremonies.” And it was
b Dial. p. upon occasion ^b of this Proclamation and *Persecution*, that the
12. *Irish Roman Catholicks* offered constantly to pay an Army of

5000 Foot, and 500 Horse for his Majesty's service, provided they might be tolerated in the Exercise of their Religion, which Offer was not accepted.

Prot. I am far from controverting what the Bishop of *Meath* says, who indisputably is as zealous and religious a Prelate as any of those who subscribed the before mentioned Protestation. But this does not hinder me from controverting your Mistakes; I set you right before in the Date of the Protestation, namely, in the Year 1626, and now you say that the Proclamation against the *Popish* Rites and Ceremonies issued the same Year. But the Lord Bishop of *Meath* has, with truth, placed this Proclamation three years later, during which interval numerous Exorbitances and Insolencies of the *Papists* happened to provoke the Government to some little Rigour, namely, (which the good Bishop hints) the vast increase of titular Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Vicars-General, Abbots, Priests, and Friars; the erecting a new Popish University in *Dublin*, in defiance of his Majesty's College there, and the building of Monasteries and Nunneries in many parts of the Kingdom; and all this in direct Opposition of established Laws. The very Proclamation mentions their Insolence and Presumption; and further, that the Lord Deputy was necessitated to command them to forbear the exercise of their *Popish* Rites and Ceremonies. This, Sir, you are pleased to stile a *Persecution*, a Word, I must tell you, that sounds oddly in the mouth of a *Papist*, the Essence of whose Religion is *Persecution*, where they have Power; witness what we see acting to day, and every day, in *Popish* Countries. Yet, poor Souls! you must not be forbid, without further violence, to forbear the exercise of your Rites and Ceremonies, which is all the *Persecution* commanded by the Proclamation; and that had no manner of Effect, for it was baffled, and so despised, and c Uther's
contemned by the *Popish* Clergy, that they nevertheless exer- Lett. 423:
cised full Jurisdiction, even to Excommunication, erected
Abbies and Nunneries, and an University in the face of the
Government; as is said before. When I first met the word
Persecution in your Dialogue, I expected in the sequel, to d Dial p.
have heard of no less than Fire, Faggots, Gibbets, and Hal- 12.
ters, or, at least, a Dragooning by booted Apostles; but
was pleased to find all end in a cup of mild Ale. But you
tell us, that it was upon occasion of this terrible *Persecution*
that the *Irish Roman Catholicks* made the offer of maintain-
ing some Troops in Pay, provided they might be tolerated in
the

the exercise of their Religion. This, Sir, is another mistake. The Offer was in 1626, the Proclamation in 1629; and this by opening your Eyes you might have seen in *Hamond L'estrangle*, * a Book you have cited. If, by *Toleration*, which you complain was refused the Papists at that Time, you mean a Political *Toleration*, or a right to the Enjoyment of the Laws and other Privileges of Society, without regard to the difference of Religion, the *Papists* then had, and still have, such a *Toleration*. But if you mean by *Toleration* a right to the privileges of the established Religion, and to enjoyment of Offices in State and Church, let me tell you, Sir, your Church maintains such Doctrines, as are inconsistent with the safety and welfare of Society, and therefore such an unlimited *Toleration* cannot be admitted to you without danger to the State. But you have, and always had, a *Connivance* little different from a *Toleration*, except that you are debared from Offices and Employments.

* Annals.
p. 63.

f Dial.
p. 13.

Pap, Let me go on with the Instances of the Persecutions of the Papists. " In 1633 ^f, in the Government of *Richard* Earl of *Cork*, and Sir *Adam Loftus*, the *Roman Catholick* Clergy of *Dublin* were suppressed, and fifteen Houses or Chapels, by direction of the Lords of the Council of *England*, were seized on for the King's Use, and the Friars and Priests were so persecuted, as two (says *Borlace* ^g) hanged themselves in their own defence."

g Reduct.
Ireland p.
207.

Prot. I pity these Holy Fathers with all my Heart; because I fear they did not stop at the half way House. But why, Sir, do you quote an Authority at second hand, when you have the original Author of this Story to have recourse to, with whom you do not seem to be unacquainted, I mean

h Annals,
p. 116.

Hamond L'Esrange. ^h But you curtail what both he and *Borlace* say; because you would have those innocent Priests suffer Martyrdom by their own Hands, without any Cause. I will give you the passage at large. " Anno 1630 (not 1633 as you falsify it) the *Roman Catholick* Clergy began to rant it in *Ireland*, and to exercise their Fancies, called Religion, so publicly, as if they had gained a *Toleration*. For whilst the Lords Justices were at Church in *Dublin*, on St. *Stephen's* Day, they were celebrating Mass; which the Lords Justices taking notice of, they sent the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Recorder of the Town to apprehend them; which they did, taking away the Crucifixes, Chalice, and Paraments of the Altar, the Soldiers hewing down the Image

" of

“ of *St. Francis*. The Priests and Friars were delivered
 “ into the Hands of the Pursuivants, at whom the People
 “ threw Stones, and rescued them. The Lords Justices,
 “ informed of this, sent a Guard and delivered them, and
 “ clapped eight Popish Aldermen by the Heels for not at-
 “ tending their Mayor. Upon account of this Persecution
 “ fifteen Houses, by direction of the Lords of the Council
 “ here (i. e. *England*) were seized to the King’s Use,
 “ and the Friars and Priests so persecuted, as two Hanged
 “ themselves in their own Defence.

Pap. I am obliged to you for furnishing this quotation at large; because it makes good what I have advanced concerning the Persecutions of the Papists.

Prot. You and I differ in Opinion upon this occasion. Can the carrying the Laws into execution upon the ranting and insolencies of those People, who were indulged by Connivance, be called Persecution? I think not. You see here they ranted and exercised their fancies, called Religion, as publickly as if they had gained a Toleration, which they had not, and I trust never will in their sense of the Word. If they had exercised their Fancies privately and modestly, the Lords Justices would never have molested them. It appears by the account, that the Government sent the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Recorder, with a file of Musqueteers to apprehend these Transgressors of the Laws under the eye of the Government; but it does not appear that any Authority was given the Soldiers to ransack their Chappel, or to hew down the Image of *St. Francis*, who seems to be the only Person persecuted upon this occasion; and if the event had happened in less enlightned Times, we should have heard of Miracle upon Miracle to punish the Authors of this disgrace, which it seems poor *St. Francis* at this time had no power to do. After all, I fancy, Sir, this Story, such as you see it, is aggravated, and that the Author who wrote in *England*, picked it up from some idle News Paper, cooked up by the Papists for the purpose. For no other Writer, that ever fell into my Hands, mentions it, that I can recollect, and from thence Doctor *Borlace*, hath copied it. I will give you a more probable account of this Transaction from a better Author¹; who cites the Council¹ Foxes Books both of *England* and *Ireland* for the truth of it, and he and Fireplaces it a Year earlier than *L’estrang* hath done, and four brands, pt. Years before your account of it. “ In 1629 (says he) the 2. p. 72. “ Archbishop of *Dnblin*, (Doctor *Bulkeley*) being informed “ that

“ that the Jesuits and Friars made it their constant practice
 “ to infuse sedition by their Sermons into the Popish Inhabi-
 “ tants of *Dublin*, applied to the Lords Justices for a War-
 “ rant, and a file of Musqueteers, to seize the Offenders,
 “ The *Carmelites* in *Cook-street*, together with their Audi-
 “ ence, rose in a body to oppose the Execution of the
 “ Warrant; who fell upon the Guard, affronted the Arch-
 “ bishop, and Mayor, with the rest of their Attendants.
 “ The Archbishop was obliged to take to his Heels, and
 “ cry out for Help, and with difficulty saved himself by ta-
 “ king shelter in a House. This Riot was committed a-
 “ bout *Christmas* 1629 (Mr. *L'Estrange* says on St. *Ste-*
 “ *phen's* Day). On the 9th of January the Lords Justices
 “ gave the King and Council of *England* an Account of it,
 “ who on the 31st following issued Orders for a due Execu-
 “ tion of the Laws, and commanded that the House, where
 “ these seminary Friars appeared in their habits, and where
 “ the *Archbishop* and Mayor received the first Affront,
 “ should be demolished, and left as a Mark of Terror to
 “ the Resisters of Authority; and that the rest of the Hou-
 “ ses of these suspicious Societies should be converted into
 “ Houses of Correction, and applied to other publick uses.”
 This story, Sir, seems to hang together better than the
 former. For it is not very probable, that the Lords Justi-
 ces would send the *Archbishop* from his devotions in Church
 upon an Errand, that was the business of the Ordinary Ma-
 gistrates; nor that they would have sent him at all, if he had
 not made the Complaint, and Officiously offered his Ser-
 vice. If this be *Persecution*, you see from what cause it a-
 rose, namely from the Insolence of the *Popish* Clergy in con-
 stantly infusing into their Auditors Sedition, and acting it
 when they were opposed. But I fancy I have found out the
 reason, why you brand these Lords Justices, who were

* Borlace, staunch Protestants, with the odious names of Persecutors.

Red. *ibid.* “ They were active * this Year in discovering the fiction
 “ of St. *Patrick's Purgatory* in *Lough-Derg* to be a meer
 “ illusion, being a little Cell hewed out of a Rock, and not
 “ near the Confines of *Purgatory* or *Hell*; though the
 “ Priests made use of it to that purpose to insnare Pilgrims.”

And now I mention St. *Patrick's Purgatory*, I shall take
 occasion to give a rub to your dear friend *Jones*, who from a
 treatise supposed to be written by St. *Patrick*, intituled *de tri-*
bus habitaculis, i. e. *of the three habitations*, would demonst-
 trate ¹ the Antiquity of a belief of *Purgatory*, and that St.

¹ Exam.

Patrick held that Doctrine. I will only cite the beginning of the Treatise here referred to, and then you will judge either how uncandid or ignorant your Friend is, or of what impenetrable stuff his forehead is made. The said Treatise begins thus. “ *Tria sunt sub Omnipotentis Dei nutu habitacula, Primum, Imum, Medium: Quorum Summum Regnum Dei, vel Regnum Cælorum, dicitur. Imum vocatur Infernus, medium Mundus præsens, vel Orbis terrarum.*— In plain *English* thus. “ There are three Habitations under the power of Almighty God, the *first*, the *lowermost*, and the *middle*. The *highest* of which is called the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven, the *lowermost* is termed Hell, and the *middle* is named the present World, or the Circuit of the Earth.” Sure he must be fond of delusion, who would impose this upon the World as a proof of *Purgatory*, which he may search for among the Heathen Poets, and have a fairer chance to find it, as he may some other Doctrines of his Church. But I must digress a little farther to give your Friend another Nut to crack, which perhaps may hurt his Teeth. He takes ⁱⁿ ^{an} Exam, ^{ibid.} vast Pains to demonstrate, that a Treatise intituled *the Confession of Saint Patrick*, is the genuine Work of that Saint, and in proof thereof calls into his Aid the celebrated Critick *Tillemont*, and the learned and ingenious Jesuites *Henschenius* and *Papebrochius*, the Continuator of the judicious and accurate *Bollandus*, with a profusion of Complements of that sort, which he does both to shew the compass of his Reading, and to throw Dust in the Eyes of the Ignorant, that those, whom he could not convince by reasoning, he might bear down by Authority, being the strongest Argument in Controversy (how weak soever in itself) that the Papists pretend to, all others having been over and over again baffled. I therefore freely admit, that the Confession of Saint *Patrick* carries in it the Marks of great Antiquity, and that it is the genuing Work of that holy Man. But that from thence your Friend should draw an Argument in proof of *Auricular Confession* is a demonstration of one of two things, 1st. either that he never read the Book called *St. Patrick's Confession*, or 2dly. if he did, that he has a prodigious appetite for mis-representation and delusion. For what is called *the Confession of St. Patrick* is no more than a Paper written in form of an Epistle to the *Irish*, giving an account of his Birth, Parentage, that he was the Son of a Deacon, and Grandson of a Priest (a proof that the Clergy were not prohibited

prohibited Marriage in his Time) his several Captivities and Dangers, and other Events of his Life, concluding in these words, viz. *Et hæc est confessio mea antequam moriar.*—i. e. and this is my acknowledgment (or confession if you will) before I die. But it does not contain one word of a confession to a Priest, as your Friend most fraudulently and unfairly alledges. *John Leland*, a celebrated Antiquary in the Reign of King *Henry VIII.* calls this work of *St. Patrick* *Odorporicon*, five *Itinerarium*, a Journey or Itinerary, “ Qui liber (says he) sub titulo Confessionis, nescio quam apte, a *Meildunensi*, in libro primo de vitâ *Patrici*, frequentius citatur. — Which Book (says *Leland*) is frequently cited by *Malmshury*, in his first Book of the Life of *St. Patrick*, under the title of a *Confession*, with what

^a Descript “ propriety I shall not dispute.” *Stanishurst* ^a calls this ^{Hib. cap. 7.} Piece *Odorporicon Hibernia*, which, says *Bishop Nicholson* ^o, ^o Ir. Hist. seems to mean a *Journal of his own Travels through Ire-* ^{Libr. p. 2.} land. I thank your Friend for giving me the opportunity of

shewing my compass of reading, as he has done his, and I think neither of us have any thing to boast of; except, that for his bad Divinity I give him sound Truth. Yet before I have done with Mr. *Jones*, I must request you, as his and my Friend, to prevail on him to return me an Antient Greek Manuscript found at *Constantinople*, when that City was taken by *Mahomet II.* about the Year 1454, intituled *Ἱερο-τεχνο-γυνια* in *English*, the *Priestly Art of Bastard getting*; to which is annexed a *Receit for cooling a heated Liver with Ale*, called by *Dioscorides* *Curmi*, which after the judicious *Camden* I choose to interpret by the name *Ale*. And hereby hangs a Tale.— This Manuscript I lent your Friend several Years ago; and as it contains some curious Remarks, and not a little Wit and Humour, I thought to have published it in *English*, which I hope he will not prevent much longer. But I have dwelt so long upon these paltry Criticisms, that I really have forgot what we were upon.

Pap. We were upon the Subject of the Persecutions of the Papists, and sure you must allow that they were great, when two Friars hanged themselves in their own defence, as I said before.

Prot. Believe me I cannot understand what is meant by à Man’s hanging himself in his own Defence, unless it be *dying for fear of dying*, which the Roman Epigrammatist, *Martial* ^p, ridicules as a mark of great Folly and

^a Lib. 2. ^{Epig. 40.} Madness. But what had these Friars done to fear Death

so much? Was it this Riot? No. that at worst would be punished by Fine and Imprisonment. Therefore if the Fact be true, it must be thought, that they were inwardly conscious of some treasonable Actions or Correspondence, which might deserve an ignominious and capital Punishment. But there are a sort of People, that, like Moon-blind Horses, will start and boggle at every Straw, and frame Fears to themselves, where no Fear is; and that possibly might have been the Case of those dastardly Friars.

Pap. You can have nothing to object to the rigorous levying of twelve pence a Sunday ⁹ on the *Roman Catholics* ¹ Dial. p. for absenting themselves from Protestant Service, in both ¹³ Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles*. This sure you will allow to be Persecution.

Prot. Indeed I cannot grant you this Article, unless you would have the execution of Laws in force to be Persecution. The levying this Tax (for I can call it no other) was very mildly executed during these two Reigns, and never but when the *Papists* *ranted and were disobedient*, for which they were punished in their Purses. In Queen *Elizabeth's* Time the *Papists*, without scruple, frequented ^r both Mass ^r Ware's and Church, and would have continued in that Practice, ^{Annals of} if the Intrigues of the *Pope* and *Irish* Priests (who knew their ^{Eliz chap.} Religion could not stand, if the People were admitted to ⁶ hear and understand the word of God) had not prevented it; and for the same reason the Scriptures were shut up from the Laity. Besides, this Tax was suspended by the Earl of *Strafford*, as both your Dissenter and Church-Papist acknowledge ^c.

Pap. And I do acknowledge the same; but what he acted ^c Dial. p. therein was with a Political View. For at the same Time ¹⁴ he managed Matters so artfully with the *Irish Papists* by Compositions, Contributions, and other means, that he had good reason to boast ^t, "He had done more towards a ^{Let. v. 1} Reformation, so far as *pecuniary mulcts* could effect it, ^{p. 174} "than any that went before him."

Prot. So, Sir, by your way of arguing you would give one to understand, that he suspended the Tax, and yet rigorously levied it, which seems to imply a Contradiction. Pray turn to that Passage, which you have cited, here it is, and you will see plainly, "That he there talks of the *pecuniary mulcts* levied in his Presidentship in the Northern parts of *England*," and that it relates nothing to *Ireland*. For he there answers to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* an ob-

jection made by the Bishop of *Durham*, " that the Recu-
 " sants were increased by means of the Compositions made
 " with a few of them." Is it not so?

Pap. I confess it is, and I overlooked the Point, and
 applied to *Ireland* what has no relation to it. But I will
 now give you * an Objection of more weight from the
 Mouth of the Earl of *Holland* ^{14.} *w*, one of the Privy Council
 of *England*, " who in the Year 1636 could not conceal
 " his Fears, that his Lordship's severity might dispose them
 " to call the *Irish* Regiments out of *Flanders* to their As-
 " sistance." And further, the Earl of *Strafford* himself gives
 us to understand ^{2. p. 33.} *x*, " That he was threatned, and not unap-
 prehensive of meeting with a *Felton* or *Ravillac* amongst
 " them." So scandalously false is that Affirmation of your
 Noble Historian, *that every degree of Happiness was increas-*
ed and improved under the Government of King Charles I.

Prot. The Earl of *Holland*'s fears can furnish but a very
 slender Argument, especially as they were grounded upon
 Whisper and Hearsay only. For in the Passage cited the
 Lord Deputy tells the King, " that he hears that the Lord
 " *Holland* apprehends, that his (the Earl of *Strafford*'s)
 " severity may disaffect the People, and dispose them to call
 " the *Irish* Regiments forth of *Flanders* to assist them." If
 you had looked a little forward in the same place, from
 whence you have drawn your quotation, you would have
 seen, that the severity, which the Earl of *Holland* made
 such a coil about, was only the finding the King's just Title
 to *Connaught*, and the making a Plantation there; and the
 Lord Deputy tells the King, " that the best of the Earl of
 " *Holland*'s insight into these particulars was the suggesti-
 " ons and problems of the Lord *Clanrickard*, Mr. *Darcy*,
 " and Sir *Piers Crosby*, Persons promoting their own Inte-
 " rests or Passions. And if, proceeds he, the taking of an
 " half move that Country into open Rebellion, the taking
 " of a third or a fourth would hardly secure the Crown of
 " their Allegiance. If therefore, adds he, they are so un-
 " sound and rotten at the Heart, Wisdom adviseth so to
 " weaken them, and line them thoroughly with *English*
 " and Protestants, as that they shall not be able to disqui-
 " et any thing, if they would."

Your next Quotation in proof of the Earl's Severity is
 not a little strained. For you say ^y *y*, " that the Earl him-
 " self gives us to understand, that he was threatned, and
 " not unapprehensive, of meeting with a *Felton* or a Ra-
 " villac

“ *villac* among them,” i. e. the *Irish*. I wish you had shewed how the Lord Deputy was *apprehensive* of such a Fate. For I profess I can find nothing in the passage cited that looks that way. It is your common Practice indeed to give Scraps of Passages, and to leave out the Reasons inducing to them. I shall not pursue your Method, but lay down the Quotation at large, with the Motives to the Expressions in it. The Priests and Friars had been extremely busy and impudent, not only by influencing their Votaries in the Elections to the late Parliament, even with threatening them with Excommunications², in case they² Let. v. voted for a Protestant (for which the Lord Deputy was¹ p. 267. resolved to question some of them) but also previous there- 270 to in taking upon them² to administer Oaths extrajudici-² Ibid. ally upon the Altar, and Sacraments in civil Causes, whom 203. 248. the Lord Deputy was determined “ to restrain within the
 “ Bounds of their own Function, and from meddling any
 “ more in that kind.” Upon this occasion he tells^b the^b Ibid. Lord Cottington, “ that he was threatned in a Libel with a³⁷¹
 “ *Felton* or a *Ravillac*.” And again, in a Letter to the Earl of Newcastle of the 9th of April 1635 he says^c,^c Ibid. “ Howbeit I understand the *Jesuits* and *Friars* are much⁴¹²
 “ incensed against me in my own Particular, *as fearing*
 “ *they may come to be remembred for all their Practices this*
 “ *Parliament*; yet undoubtedly it is for the King’s ser-
 “ vice, and public settlement of the State, the happiest
 “ Parliament that ever was in *Ireland*. This Comfort I
 “ have to support me against the Malice of this Race of
 “ *Sturdy Beggars*, that howbeit they threaten me with a
 “ *Felton* or a *Ravillac*, yet my Master is pleased graci-
 “ ously to accept of my Endeavours, and to say publicly
 “ at Council-board, that the Crown of *England* was ne-
 “ ver so well served on this side as since my coming to the
 “ Government; and I trust in God so to demean my-
 “ self, as his Majesty shall not at all alter his good Opini-
 “ on towards me, and then welcome what God sends. I
 “ am not too good to die for him.”

Now, Sir, you see how shamefully you have curtailed and misapplied these Quotations: Does the Lord Deputy shew any Fear or Apprehension, that he would meet with a *Felton* or a *Ravillac*? On the contrary he welcomes what God should send, and declares he was not too good to die for his Majesty. I think you should have been ashamed to call up to Memory those infamous Practices of Jesuits
 and

and Friars—Practices that they had too successfully executed upon two mighty Monarchs of *France*. But I am willing to excuse you in this Particular (unless in point of Negligence) and impute the Fault rather to your Co-operator *Jones*, whom I verily believe you employed to collect Materials for this your doughty Performance, and trusted too implicitly to his Labours. Hitherto I have seen nothing you have offered of weight sufficient to ground your conclusion upon, namely, that the Affirmation of Lord *Clarendon* is scandalously false, where he says, “ that every degree of Happiness of the *Irish* was increased and improved under the Government of King *Charles I.*” On the other hand, if you had given your quotation from Lord *Clarendon* particularly and fully, and not contented yourself with *dismembring* it, you might have shewn us the increase and improvement of the Happiness of *Ireland* at this period finely and truly painted. But I will once more help you over the Stile. “ If, says he ¹, this precious State of Affairs (for he had given a Sketch of the temporal advantages before) was undervalued under the Notion of being but temporal Blessings, and want of Freedom alledged in the exercise of the *Roman Religion*, to which that Nation was generally addicted, it cannot be denied, but (though by the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom, the Power and Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* is not in any degree allowed, or submitted unto) the whole Nation enjoyed and undisturbed exercise of their Religion, and even in *Dublin* (where the seat of the King’s Chief Governour was) they went as publickly and uninterruptedly to their Devotions, as he went to his. The Bishops, Priests, and all Degrees and Orders of Secular and Regular Clergy, were known to be, and exercise their Functions amongst them; and though there were some Laws against them still in force, which Necessity, and the Wisdom of former Ages had caused to be enacted to suppress those Acts of Treason and Rebellion, which the People frequently fell into [*mind that, Doctor,*] and the policy of the present Times kept unrepealed to prevent the like Distempers and Designs [*mind that again*] yet the edge of those Laws was so totally rebated by the Clemency and Compassion of the King, that no Man could say he had suffered *prejudice* or *disturbance* in or for his Religion, which is another kind of indulgence, than Subjects professing a Faith contrary to what is established

a Hist. p.
8.

" blished by the Law of the Land, can boast of in any other
 " Kingdom of the World. In this blessed condition of
 " Peace and Security the *English* and *Irish*, the *Protestant*
 " and *Roman Catholick*, lived mingled together in all Pro-
 " vinces of the Kingdom, quietly Trafficking with one ano-
 " ther during the whole happy Reign of King *James*, and
 " from his Death every degree of their Happiness was in-
 " creased and improved under the Government of King
 " *Charles*, as long as they contained themselves within the
 " bounds of Duty and Allegiance towards him [*mind that*
 " *again*] The Wealth of the Kingdom was exceedingly in-
 " creased by the Importation of great Store of Money,
 " wonderful increase of Trade, several new and profitable
 " Manufactures were introduced and erected, whereby the
 " Inhabitants were set on Work, and the Land generally
 " improved by applying it to several sorts of good Husband-
 " ry, which that People had been utterly unacquainted with.
 " The *Roman Catholick* Landlords had *Protestant* Tenants,
 " and many *Protestant* Landlords *Roman Catholick* Tenants.
 " Friendship and Marriages were frequently contracted be-
 " tween them, and all Passion, at least visible Animosities,
 " which flow from the differences of these Professions, laid
 " aside or suppressed till in the Year 1640, &c." and so
 he proceeds to give an Account of the seeds of the Rebelli-
 on of 1641 from the distempers between *England* and *Scot-*
land, and the differences between King and Parliament.

Pap. You have given us a long bead-roll of a Quotation, but the Authority of it rests only on Lord *Clarendon*.

Prot. You mistake that, Sir, all cotemporary Historians agree in the Facts alledged, and I could prove it minutely in the compass of a small Pamphlet, if you would give me leave; yet I shall say something of it hereafter from Sir *John Temple*.

Pap. You forget the seizing fifteen Popish Chappels in 1629, and the Deaths of the two Friars. Was this agreeable to the full Enjoyment of Religion mentioned by those Writers?

Prot. And you forget, that what then happened was the fruit of Sedition and Disobedience. But I cannot intirely agree with Lord *Clarendon*, that the Distempers between *England* and *Scotland*, and the differences between the King and Parliament, gave the first rise to this Rebellion; for I think it can be easily made manifest, that the Seeds of it were sown much earlier.

Pap.

^e Dial. p. 15. *Pap.* I must interrupt you, Sir, to demonstrate^e, that the oppressive and galling Administration of the Earl of *Strafford* did not at all lessen the great Loyalty of the *Irish Papists*, even when continued to the Year 1639. For at that time, when the breaking out of the Rebellion in *Scotland* occasioned his Lordship to call another Parliament in *Ireland*, in order to raise new and large Subsidies for the King, the *Natives* in the House of Commons, who were mostly *Irish Papists*, gave the strongest Proof of an unparalleled Affection and Loyalty to the King, some of them having said, “ That his Majesty should have a Fee Simple
“ of Subsidies in their Estates on that Occasion ; others of
“ them, with great chearfulness, declared, that to answer
“ his Majesty’s Occasions, for the honour of his Person,
“ and safety of his Kingdoms, it was fit to be done, though
“ it was with leaving themselves nothing besides *Hose* and
“ *Doublet*, and that their Hearts contained Mines of Sub-
“ sidies for his Majesty.—And these Declarations were una-
“ nimously assented to by the whole House, there being
“ found therein not one Negative Voice ; and all this was
“ concluded with general Acclamations, and signs of Joy
“ and Contentment, even to the throwing up of their Hats,
“ and lifting up of their Hands. And they requested the
“ Privy Counsellors then present, who were Members of
“ the House, to represent this their Chearfulness to the
“ King, which they did, by a Letter to Secretary *Winde-*
ⁱ *bank*,” out of which this Account is taken^f. The Earl
^{Let. v. 2.} of *Strafford* likewise himself, in a Letter^g to the Marquis of
^{p. 397.} *Hamilton* on this Subject, says, “ It is not to be believed
^h *Ib.* 401. “ what a forwardness there is in this People to serve upon
“ this Occasion ; and certainly they will sell themselves to
“ the last Farthing before they deny any thing, which
“ can be asked of them by his Majesty in order to that.”
I hope, Sir, you will no longer controvert the Loyalty of
the *Irish Papists* at this Juncture.

^h *Ans.* ^{p. 45.} *Prot.* I wish for their own Sakes, as well as for the sakes of their Fellow Subjects, the Protestants, they had continued in this Mood of Loyalty longer. But, perhaps, a few Observations upon what you have said may blunt a little the edge of your Triumph. I observed before^h, that when the Subject laboured under any Grievances, it was the Papists only suffered, and the Protestants were as free as so many Birds, and I shewed you the Vanity and Folly of those Sentiments. Now, when Loyalty is to be shewed, it is the *Native Irish Papists*

Papists only must shew it ; which Words you take care to print in Emphatical Characters, lest any unwary Reader might overlook your meaning ; and lest that also might escape, you in so many words affirm, *that the House of Commons were mostly Irish Papists.* Are you sure of that, Sir ?

Pap. Indeed I think so.

Prot. Then I am sure and confident of the contrary, and will forfeit all that is honourable and valuable upon it. In the Parliament of 1634, “ the Parties were in a manner equal, some few odds on the side of the Protestants, and “ one watching the other lest their Fellows should rob “ them, and apply the whole Grace of his Majesty’s “ thanks to themselves from the other ; ” of which the Lord Deputy gave the Lord Treasurer an account. In the ¹ *Straff.* Parliament of 1639, notwithstanding the influence of Priests *Let. v. 1.* and Friars over Elections, things were much altered, and *P. 274.* the Protestants had a vast majority, namely, about 148 to 82. I have in my Closet a List of the Members of this House of Commons, which you shall be welcome to peruse when you please, and I am confident you will then retract what you have said. For Numbers are stubborn things, and cannot be brought to favour any Appetites of Deceit. This, if you would confess it, is another of the Blunders of your Collector *Jones*, and the design of it is manifest, namely, to remove some of the Odium of the subsequent Rebellion from the Papists, by shewing, how Loyal they were in so short a time before. It would not have answered that View, to have shewn what these Councillors, who were Members of the House of Commons, set forth in the before cited Letter, namely, “ that the Subsidies granted were too little to “ be given to so sacred a Majesty, from whose Princely “ Clemency, by the Ministration of the Lord Lieutenant, “ so many and so gracious Favours are continually derived “ unto them. That the Promises made unto them by his “ Lordship the last Parliament, on his Majesty’s behalf “ have been *fully* and effectually performed *in all Things*, “ to their comfort and contentment.” And this they earnestly desired should be represented from the House to the Lord Lieutenant. But cast your Eyes further into the Preamble of this very Act of Subsidies, which you may see in *Rushworth*, where they express their great Joy and Com- ¹ *Collect.* fort, “ In that his Majesty hath provided, and placed over *part. 2. p.* “ us so just, wise, vigilant, and profitable a Governor as ^{1051.} “ the Right Honourable *Thomas Earl of Strafford*, Lord
N “ Lieutenant

“ Lieutenant of this your said Kingdom of *Ireland*, who
 “ by his great Care, and travail of Body and Mind, *sincere*
 “ and upright Administration of Justice, without partiality,
 “ encrease of your Majesty’s Revenues, without the least
 “ hurt or grievance to any of your well disposed and loving
 “ Subjects, and our great Comfort and Security ; by the
 “ large and ample Benefits, which we have received, and
 “ hope to receive by your Majesty’s Commission of Grace
 “ for remedy of defective Titles, procured hither by his
 “ Lordship from your Sacred Majesty ; his Lordship’s
 “ great care and pains in restoring of the Church [*was it a*
 “ *Popish House of Commons that says this ?*] the reinforcing
 “ of your Army within this Kingdom, and ordering the
 “ same with singular good Discipline ; his support of your
 “ Majesty’s wholesome Laws here established ; his encouragement
 “ to the Judges and other good Officers, Ministers,
 “ and Dispencers of your Laws, in the due and sincere
 “ Administration of Justice, his necessary and just
 “ strictness for the Execution thereof ; his due Punishment
 “ for the Contemners of the same, and his care to relieve
 “ and redress the Poor and Oppressed. For this your
 “ tenderness over us, shewed by the Deputy, &c. We, in
 “ free Recognition of your great Goodness towards us, do,
 “ for the abbreviation of some Part of your Majesty’s inestimable
 “ Charges, most humbly and freely offer to your
 “ Majesty four intire Subsidies, &c.

If, Sir, you had timely seen these noble Encomiums from
 the Representative Body of the Nation, you would not so
 hastily have termed the Administration of the Earl of *Strafford*,
 by the odious Epithets, *Oppressive* and *Galling*. I see
 your inward Candor in your Countenance, and that you
 blush at what you have advanced, and Curse in your Heart
 your Coadjutor : But he is your Father Confessor, and you
 cannot complain.

17. *Pap.* Notwithstanding what you say, yet methinks it is
 1 Dial. p, not natural to judge, that 1 the rising of the *Irish* in Rebel-
 lion so soon after the conclusion of this Parliament of 1639,
 was the effect of any settled Disaffection to the King’s Per-
 son or Government ; but it seems to me to be evident, that
 it was intirely owing to the continuation and increase of the
 Grievances already mentioned, and to their just Apprehen-
 sions of others still greater, with which they were threatned :
 And as these Grievances and Apprehensions must have been
 always very affecting to that People, they certainly became
 much

much more so at that Juncture, when they were considered by them as the only Recompence they were to expect for their late transcendent Loyalty and Affection to the Crown of *England*; and this appears from the Examination of *Owen O-Conolly*, the discoverer of this Conspiracy, who swears ^m, ^m *Templ.*
 “ That the *Irish* Rebels declared (on that Occasion) that *Hist.* p.
 “ they owed their Allegiance to the King, and would pay ²⁰.
 “ him all his Rights; but that they did this (*i. e.* rise in
 “ Rebellion) for the tyrannical Government was over them,
 “ and to imitate *Scotland*, who had got a Privilege by that
 “ Course.”

Prot. I confess you have offered something plausible, but which nevertheless will not stand a close Examination. You forget when you mention the transcendent Loyalty and Affection of the *Papists* to the Crown of *England* in the late Parliament what I said before of the vast majority of the Protestants in that House of Commons; so that I suppose you must allow them to have some share at least in this Loyalty and Affection, without whom it is a very doubtful point whether the four Subsidies would have been granted, or you have the Opportunity of making an Encomium upon this Loyalty. I have no doubt but *Owen O-Conolly* swore Truth in his Examination, and that the Declaration of the Rebels was, as he says. But this can be taken no otherwise than as a Mask to cover their villainous Proceedings, and to draw greater Numbers into their Confederacy. In the same manner, when the Confederate Catholicks had set up their Commonwealth at *Kilkenny*, they formed an Oath of Association ⁿ, whereby they swear to bear true Faith and ⁿ *Walth.*
 Allegiance to the King, and to defend all his just Prerogatives; and yet their Armies fought against his Lieutenant, *Rem. App.*
 and destroyed his faithful Subjects commissioned by him. *p. 31.*
 There is something so unnatural and detestable in Rebellion, that, without throwing plausible Colours over it to blind their Followers, the Leaders thereof could never cement and keep together their Confederacies. In regard to the tyrannical Government they pretended was over them, I have offered a good deal before ^o in the Representation of the ^o *Answ. p.*
 Privy Councillors, who were Members of Parliament; and *97.*
 now you will give me leave to set forth, though a little ^p *Lett. v.*
 out of season, what the Lord Deputy says ^p to Mr. *Con,* *2. p. 112.*
 in 1637: “ When, says he, I understood by the Relation of Sir *Toby Matthews*, with how many Untruths
 “ some of the *Irish* endeavoured to shadow over to your
 “ Sight those indulgent *Lights and Graces*, which his Ma-

“ jesty vouchsafed to shed forth to all his People, and in
 “ particular to those of the *Romish* Religion here, I confess
 “ it was my gladness to hear it, seeing I might thence justly
 “ vindicate and represent the Piety, Honour and Integrity
 “ of my Master’s Proceedings to your Knowledge, as a
 “ Person, whose Wisdom and Credit hath, I conceive,
 “ the Will every where to allay the Malignity of this Ca-
 “ lumny, the Authority to quench the fiery Venom of it in
 “ those places, where they use to cast it abroad with impu-
 “ nity, and whence they flatter themselves to fetch their
 “ chief Support (*i. e.* from the Queen, to whom *Con* was
 “ Resident from *Rome*.) Certainly it is my Duty to witness this
 “ Truth for his Majesty, that since I had the honour to be
 “ employed in this Place, *he hath not been pleased, that the*
 “ *Hair of any Man’s Head should be touched for the free*
 “ *Exercise of his Conscience* ; and for the Administration of
 “ Civil Causes, such amongst them (and indeed, to say
 “ truth, these are many) as are sober in Conversation, and
 “ faithful towards the Crown, are, *without prejudice,*
 “ *equally taken under the Protection, and gather to them-*
 “ *selves in season, and to all intents and purposes, as benefi-*
 “ *cially of his Majesty’s Justice, as any other Subjects what-*
 “ *soever. Nevertheless there is a Nation of the Irish the*
 “ *whilst, that wander abroad, most of them criminous, all*
 “ *lewdly affected People, that forth of an unjust, yet habi-*
 “ *tual hatred to the English Government, delight to have it*
 “ *believed, and themselves pitied, as persecuted forth of*
 “ *their Country, and ravished of their Means for their Reli-*
 “ *gion, stirring and inciting all they can to Blood and Rebel-*
 “ *lion. and keeping themselves in Countenance by taking upon*
 “ *them to be Grand Seignors, and boasting and intitling*
 “ *themselves to great Dignities and Territories, whose very*
 “ *Names were scarcely heard of by their indigent Pa-*
 “ *rents. These Impostors I should not once vouchsafe to men-*
 “ *tion, knowing full well there is no other Power left them,*
 “ *save to draw and hasten upon themselves, and as many as*
 “ *can be vitiated by their Allurements, a certain speedy Ru-*
 “ *in,* were it not for their Sakes amongst us, who in re-
 “ pose and thankfulness bow under the Power and Good-
 “ ness of his Majesty, whom those other refuse extremely
 “ prejudice, awakening thus the Eye of the State with
 “ Apprehensions and Jealousies, which otherwise might
 “ and would possess itself in Safety and Rest.”

Here,

Here, Sir, you see a difference made between good and bad Subjects; and it is to be feared, that at this Day many of the latter sort run abroad in quest of Preferment, and colour the forsaking their Country by Reporting great Persecutions in it, of which I leave yourself to judge. As for the Example of *Scotland*, I verily believe it hastened much the Rebellion in *Ireland*, as the ill affected Subjects thereof saw, that the King's Hands being full, he could not bend his Force to quell it here; and this point was urged by *Roger Moor* to incite others to join in raising a Rebellion; as may be seen in Lord *Maguire's* Relation ¹ written in the Tower. But of this more hereafter.

¹ Borlase's
App. No. 5

Pap. You have slipped over the Point I before alledged, ² Namely, that the Rebellion of the *Irish* so soon after the conclusion of the Parliament of 1639 was not owing to any settled disaffection to the King's Person or Government, but to a continuation and increase of Grievances, and their Apprehensions of greater.

Prot. I thank you for recalling this Point to my Mind, or I should shamefully have passed it over unnoticed. I entirely differ from you in this particular, and do hold, that the Rebellion was the Effect of a settled Disaffection to the King's Person and Government, because he was a *Protestant*, i. e. a *Heretick*, in your sense of that Word. I have shewn you before ¹, how difficult it is, I will not say impossible, for a Zealous and Conscientious Papist, if he adheres strictly to his Religion, to be a faithful Subject to a *Protestant* King, and I have laid before you a Decree of the fourth Council of *Lateran* concerning the Excommunication and deposing of Heretical Princes, and I have shewed you the Practices consequent to this and other Decrees of the like sort, which I shall not repeat, the same being a full Answer to the Disaffection mentioned. As to the increase of Grievances intervening between the Parliament of 1639, and the breaking out of the Rebellion, they, and all former Grievances were redressed upon a Representation of a Committee of Lords and Commons sent over to the King for that Purpose. I will give you an Account of this from an Evidence that cannot be controverted (except by those who shut their Eyes against the most manifest Truths) an Eye Witness of what he relates, and a Man of great Integrity; I mean Sir *John Temple* ¹, who was then a Privy Council-^r Ir. Reb. lor of *Ireland*. "Such, says he, was the great indulgence p. 13. of King *Charles* to his Subjects of *Ireland*, as that in the
" Year

“ Year 1640, upon their Complaints, and a general Re-
 “ monstrance sent over to him from both Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment then sitting at *Dublin*, by a Committee of four
 “ Temporal Lords of the upper House, and twelve Mem-
 “ bers of the Commons, with Instructions to represent the
 “ heavy Pressures they had for Some time suffered under
 “, the Earl of *Strafford*. The King took their Grievances
 “ into his own consideration, and made present Provisions
 “ for their Redress. Upon the decease of Mr. *Wandes-*
 “ *ford*, then Lord Deputy to the Earl of *Strafford*, who,
 “ though Imprisoned in the Tower, still continued Lord
 “ Lieutenant, his Majesty Commissioned the Lord *Dillon*,
 “ and Sir *William Parsons*, Lords Justices; yet finding
 “ the Lord *Dillon* to be disgusted by the Committee, he
 “ cancelled the Commission, and, with their Approbation,
 “ placed the Government upon Sir *William Parsons*, and
 “ Sir *John Borlase*, both Persons of great Integrity. They
 “ took the Sword on the 9th of *February* 1640, and in
 “ the first Place applied themselves with all gentle lenitives
 “ to mollify the sharp Humours raised by the rigid Passages
 “ in the former Government. They declared themselves
 “ against all Proceedings lately used, as any way varied
 “ from the Common Law; gave all due Encouragement
 “ to the Parliament, then sitting, to endeavour the reaso-
 “ nable Ease of the People, freely assenting to all Acts ten-
 “ ding to a legal Reformation. They caused all Matters,
 “ as well of the Crown, as popular Interest, to be handled
 “ in the Courts of Justice, not admitting the late Exorbi-
 “ tances (so bitterly decried in Parliament) of Bills in Civil
 “ Causes to be brought before the Council Board, or be-
 “ fore any other by their Authority. They, by the King’s
 “ Directions, gave way to the Parliament to abate the
 “ Subsidies lately granted from 40000 l. to 12000 a piece;
 “ and they were content (because they saw the King resol-
 “ ved to give the *Irish* Agents full Satisfaction) to draw up
 “ two Acts, one of Limitations for settling Estates enjoyed
 “ without Claim or Interruption for sixty Years before;
 “ and the other for relinquishing the King’s Title to the
 “ four Counties of *Connaught*, legally found by Inquisiti-
 “ ons taken in them, and ready to be disposed of, upon a
 “ due Survey, to *British* Undertakers; as also to some
 “ Territories in *Munster*, and the County of *Clare*.

“ The *Roman Catholics* now privately Enjoyed the free
 “ Exercise of their Religion throughout the whole King-

“ dom,

dom. They had their titular *Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, Provincial Consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns*, who all lived freely, though somewhat covertly, among them, and, without controul, exercised a voluntary Jurisdiction over them. They had their Priests, Jesuits, and Friars, who were of late exceedingly Multiplied, and in great Numbers returned out of *Spain, Italy*, and other Foreign Parts." Then he proceeds to relate their Friendships, Intermarriages, and other Symptoms of the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom; when in *August 1641* the Parliament was adjourned by their own Consents for three Months, not many Days before the return of the Committee out of *England*, who applied to the Lords Justices and Council, desiring to have all these Acts, and other Graces, granted by the King, made known to the People by Proclamations to be sent down into several Parts of the Country. And such was the State, Condition, and great serenity of the Kingdom presently before the breaking out of this Rebellion.

Pap. To what end do you give this tedious Quotation? If you look into the Queries of a Committee of the *Irish* House of Commons in Summer 1641, you will see, that the *Irish* then laboured under many insupportable Grievances, recited in the Appendix to *Borlase's* History; of which the following are only a few, viz. "Jurors, that give Verdicts according to their Consciences, were censured in the *Cassle Chamber* in great Fines, sometimes Pillored with the loss of Ears, and bored through the Tongue, and sometimes marked in the Forehead with a hot Iron, and other like infamous Punishments.—Quo Warrantoes were issued out of the King's Bench and Exchequer against Burroughs, which antiently, and recently, sent Members to Parliament, to shew cause why they sent Burgessees to the Parliament.—The Testimonies of Rebels, Traitors, Protected Thieves, and other infamous Persons were pressed upon the Trials of Men for their Lives and Liberties," with many other Particulars, for which I refer you to the Place cited. Append. No. 1.

Prot. I grant there were many Grievances introduced in Lord *Strafford's* Government; yet none but what bore equally hard upon Protestant and Papist, much less any that could be a ground for a Rebellion. You now cannot but see the necessity of giving you the long Quotation you complain of, to shew, that the Grievances you mention, and many

many more, which you omit, though they were good grounds for a Remonstrance to the King, yet his Majesty Redressed them as soon as they were laid before him; and the Lords Justices so sweetly tempered the Government, that there was no room left for any Complaints, and that some Months before any Flame burst out. So that we must seek for other Causes of the Rebellion, and carry up the Grounds of it to a higher Period, than I find you are willing to admit.

▪ Dial. p. 20. *Pap.* You will allow ^u, that the Apprehension of Danger, with which a People are apparently threatned by those, who are more powerful than themselves, is a sufficient cause to put them upon their Guard.

Prot. I may allow you that without any great difficulty; but still it must be with some Distinctions. The apprehension of Danger must be real, and built upon solid Grounds; it must not be Imaginary or Affected, nor assumed as a Mask to cover wicked Designs. It must be imminent, and at our Doors, and not Remote, and a great way off, in which case the Eye of the Judgment may be deceived by the distance of the Object. With these distinctions your Apprehension of Danger may be admitted; though not in that Latitude that *Nicholas French*, Author of the *Bleeding Iphigenia*, holds, and from whence you seem to have copied, yet mollified your Query. For his Opinion is, that the *Irish* though not then visibly Assaulted, might however take up Arms in defence of their Religion and Property, both threatned. It being a common Doctrine of Divines, that it is lawful to prevent an Evil, that cannot be otherwise avoided; but by preventing it; nor need the Authority of the Prince in that case be required.

▪ *Mercurius Hi-bernicus.* 1643. *Pap.* I will give you coeval Authorities for the Apprehensions, which the *Irish* had of further Grievances, and those too from Protestants. Doctor *Howell* ^w, the King's Historiographer, mentioning the Causes of this Rebellion, and the Incentives to it, alledges, “ that the *Irish*, under-
“ standing with what Acrimony the *Roman Catholicks* in
“ *England* were proceeded against since the sitting of the
“ *English* Parliament, and what further Designs were on
“ foot against them, &c. thought it high time for them to
“ forecast what should become of them, and how they should
“ be handled in point of Conscience, when a new Deputy of
“ the Parliament's election (Approbation at least) should
“ come over: Therefore they fell to consult of some
“ means

“ means of timely prevention ; and this was another motive (and it was a shrewd one) which pushed on the “ *Irish* to take Arms.” Doctor *Maxwell*, afterwards Bishop of *Kilmore*, deposes *, “ that he had asked many, * Append.
 “ what chiefly moved them to take up Arms; and that to Borlase. Hift.
 “ they said (amongst other things) that they were certainly informed, that the Parliament of *England* had a
 “ Plot to bring them all to Church, or to cut off all the
 “ Papists in the King’s Dominions, in *England* by the
 “ *English* Protestants, in *Ireland* by the *Scots*.”

Prot. I find, Sir, you assume a great extent of Power. Heretofore you dignified People with Titles of Honour, which they had not, and now you confer the Title of Doctor on Mr. *Howel*, which he never had, I suppose with a view of giving greater Weight to his Evidence. There was indeed one Doctor *Howell*, I think his Name was *William*, a Man of some Reputation in the Literary way, and under his Doctorate you would screen this *James Howell*, a Scribler, or, as *Anthony Wood* calls him, a Writer of Athen. Trifles, or something to that insignificant Purpose. Ay ! Oxon. sub but, say you, he was the King’s *Historiographer*. It is tit. James very true ; but I do not find he was of his Council ; and it Howell. cannot be supposed, that in those busy Times the King had Leisure to call him in to inform him of his Policies, or give him his Sentiments of the Causes of the *Irish* Rebellion ; so that the most you can make of this your new dubbed Doctor is, that a Scribler has given us his own thoughts upon the Occasion. You refer to his Pamphlet (for it is no more, being but a Sheet and half, under the name of *Philerenus*) as published in 1643, and this doubtless to bring his Account nearer to the Scene of Action by a Year than the Truth is, and consequently giving it a greater Air of Probability. But I affirm (having the Pamphlet now in my Possession, among a Collection of others, the Property of the Revd. Mr. *Archdale*) that it was published at *Bristol* in 1644. We have now prepared the way to examine what your Doctor alledges for the Causes of this Rebellion. Why, the Acrimony of the Parliament of *England* against the *English* Papists, and the appointment of a new Lord Lieutenant of the Parliament’s Election, Approbation at least—shrewd Motives truly for a general Rebellion ! You know what I allowed you in regard to Apprehensions. Are these now of *Howell*’s real or imaginary ? The last no doubt, affected and assumed to cover wicked
 O Designs,

Designs, remote, and at too great a Distance to create Fear of Dangers at hand. Let us see what was this terrible Acrimony of the *English* Parliament against Papists. I will give you an Account of it from the most exact and honest Historian of those Times, and who was himself a Witness of what passed, being a Member of the same Parliament, I mean Mr. *Whitlock* : “ Mr. *Pym* (says he) in his Speech to the Parliament in 1640 concerning grievances, mentions the
 “ *Suspension of the Laws against the Papists—their enjoying Places of Trust and Honour in the Commonwealth—*
 “ *Their free resort to London, and to the Court, to communicate their Councils and Designs—and their having a Nuncio there.*—Upon this the King sent a Message to the Parliament, that by Proclamation they should be removed from *London*, and disarmed.” But this, it seems, was not done. “ For the Commons some time after petitioned the King for removing *Papists from Court, and for disarming them*; and a debate was in the House about entering into a Protestation to maintain the Protestant Religion against Popery.” This is all the Acrimony I find in the *English* Parliament against the *Papists*; a sorry Cause of Apprehensions (as Mr. *Howell*, or you his Ecchoe alledge) to move the *Irish* to Rebel. Ay! But a new Deputy of the Parliament’s Election, at least Approbation, was appointed; and this was another shrewd Motive to push on the *Irish* to take Arms. This is a down right lie of your Author, and you have swallowed it. The Earl of *Leicester* was not constituted Lord Lieutenant till the 12th of March 1641, near five Months after the *Irish* broke out into Rebellion. So that the reasoning is this. The *Irish* took Arms on the 23d. of *October* 1641, because the Earl of *Leicester* was appointed Lord Lieutenant on the 12th of *March* following, which they must have known by the Spirit of Prophecy, or not at all. Nor is there one Word of truth, that he was appointed by the Election or Approbation of the Parliament, but in the usual form, by the Nomination of the King, with whom the Parliament was not then at such odds as to take upon them to Name, or desire to Name, his Majesty’s great Ministers. But before I part with your Doctor, I must cross examine him, which I have a right to do, as he is your Evidence. “ The *Irish*, says he, entred into Considerations, that they also had sundry grievances, and grounds of Complaint, both touching their Estates and Consciences, which they pretended to be far greater than those of the *Scots*.
 “ For

* Memo-
 rials p 36.
 37. 43.

" For if the *Scot* was suffered to introduce a new Religion,
 " it was Reason they should not be so pinch'd in the Exercise
 " of their Old, which they glory never to have altered.
 " And for temporal Matters (wherein the *Scot* had no grie-
 " vance at all to speak of) the new Plantations lately set a foot
 " in *Connaught*, and other Places, *the concealed Lands*, and
 " *defective Titles*, which were daily found out; the new
 " Customs, which were imposed, and their incapacity for
 " Preferment or Office in Church or State (with other
 " things) they conceived these to be grievances of a far
 " greater Nature, and that deserved Redress much more
 " than any the *Scot* had. To this end they sent over Com-
 " missioners to this Parliament of *England*, with certain
 " Propositions, who were dismissed with a short and unfa-
 " voury Answer, which bred worse blood in the Nation,
 " than was formerly gathered; and this, with that leading
 " case of the *Scot*, may be said to be the first Incitement
 " that made them rise."

I verily believe, that the *Scotch* Tumults gave a speedier
 Spring to the *Irish* Rebellion, than it otherwise would have
 had; but that it was contrived and anvil'd many Years be-
 fore it broke out, may be easily demonstrated. The pre-
 tended Grievances of the *Irish* both in their Consciences
 and Estates, the new Plantations in *Connaught*, the concealed
 Lands, and defective Titles, might forward this Rebellion
 into Life and Birth. But all these Grievances were amply
 redress'd upon the Return of the Commissioners before it
 broke out; and as to the Plantations nothing was ever car-
 ried into Execution^a thereupon; and had the *Irish* had Pa-

a Borlase
 Hist. p.
 17.

tience till the next Session of Parliament, an Act of *Limita-*
tions was prepared, and pass'd by his Majesty, to bar all Ti-
 tles accrued before 60 Years past; so that all Complaints
 were removed upon these heads, and the Connivance at the
 Enjoyment of their Religion was greater than ever was be-
 fore known; though their incapacity of Enjoyment of Of-
 fices in the Church, as *Howell* hints, still remained. As to
 the unfavoury Answer given by the Parliament to the Com-
 missioners, it is nonsensical, they having been sent only to the
 King, who gave them ample Satisfaction.

What Doctor *Maxwell* swears may be very well credited,
 Namely, " that the *Irish* pretended to have received cer-
 " tain Information, that the Parliament of *England* had a
 " Plott to bring them all to Church, or to cut off all the
 " Papists in the King's Dominions." I will ask you, Sir,

were there ever Pretences wanting to varnish over a Rebellion, and cement a Party? In this, even the King's Commission was forged by the Leaders to persuade the People, that they Acted by his Majesty's Authority. Yet, even you, will at this Day disavow any such Commission. So that a pretence of this sort must be considered only as a Mask assumed to cover Villainous Purposes. Let us hear what Doctor *Maxwell* says in the same Deposition, which will set the Point of real Apprehension of Dangers upon a right Foot. He being a Prisoner among the Rebels asked them, why they sometimes pretended a Commission from the King, at other Times from the Queen; since all wise Men knew, that the King would not grant a Commission against himself, and the Queen could not. They said, *that it was lawful for them to pretend what they could in advancement of their Cause. That many of the Garrison Soldiers, (now their Prisoners,) whom they determined to employ, would not serve them in regard of their Oaths, unless they were made so to believe. That in all Wars Rumours and Lies served many times to as good Purpose as Arms; and they would not disclaim any Advantage.*

Pap. I wonder, among others, they did not put Doctor *Maxwell* to Death, to whom they had intrusted such dangerous Secrets, and not give him the Opportunity of revealing them by his Deposition.

Prot. It was indeed an infatuation, which often blinds wicked Men. But he was preserved ^b by Mrs. *Katherine Hoveden*, a Widow, and Mother to Sir *Phelim O'Neill*, a Lady of *Bowels*, though a Papist. She preserved 24 *English* and *Scots* in her own House, and fed them for thirty seven Weeks out of her own Store; and when her Children took her away upon the approach of an Army, she set both them and Doctor *Maxwell* at Liberty, and gave them free leave to Escape. She swooned twice, as it was said, when she heard, that fifty six were taken out of Doctor *Maxwell's* House, and Murdered in one Day. She used often to say, she had never offended the *English*, except in being Mother to Sir *Phelim*, and Captain *Alexander Hoveden* his half Brother.

Pap. Will you give me leave to make use of the Authority of a Papist upon this Occasion, I mean the Earl of *Castlehaven*.

Prot. Though in your setting out you pretend to make use of none but Protestant Authors; yet I think it would be

^b Doctor
Maxwells
Examina-
tion.

be hard to restrain you too strictly to that Point, more especially as I have taken, and shall take the Liberty, to have recourse to Protestants, when they are Cotemporary, and Writers of Reputation. And I shall give you the same Liberty with the Earl of *Castlehaven*; because I shall have occasion to make use of his Evidence my Self.

Pap. I thank you, Sir, for this Indulgence; and will shew you from him ^c that real Fears and Apprehension of Dangers ^{c Dial. p.} were no small Motives to this Rebellion. “ Both Houses ^{20.} of the *English* Parliament (says he ^d) were solicited by ^{d Mem.} “ several Petitions out of *Ireland*, to have the *Roman Catholics* of that Kingdom treated with the like Rigour, ^{P. 12.} “ as those in *England* were; which to a People so fond of “ their Religion as the *Irish*, was no small inducement to “ make them, while there was an Opportunity offered, to “ stand upon their Guard.”

Prot. I can give you no Answer to this Allegation of the Earl of *Castlehaven* concerning the Petitions he mentions, having never had the Opportunity of consulting the Journals of the House of Commons of *England*. It were to be wished, that his Lordship had given a date to this Transaction, that one might have judged whether these Petitions from *Ireland* were addressed to the Parliament of *England*, which met on the third of *April* 1640, or that which assembled in 1628, when Matters were carried much higher against the Papists than in the other, and when the Parliament of *England* really interfered upon such an Occasion. I am inclined to believe, that these Petitions [if there were such] were sent in the Year 1628, when the Exorbitances and Insolencies of the *Papists* were very great, and Dangers apprehended from them. Otherwise, the Earl of *Castlehaven* must speak a little inconsistently, when he assigns the source of the Rebellion to a much earlier Time than the Year 1640, as will be seen hereafter. It would have been well, if he had set forth the Import of these Petitions, and then one might have better judged of the Causes of them; which not being done, I am inclined to think there was no such thing.

Pap. This Answer is not Satisfactory; but since you say ^e it is the best you can give, I must be content with it, and proceed to give you one more Popish Evidence. *Peter* ^{to a Person of Quality,} *Walsh* tells us ^{p. 7. Ap.} “ that before the *Irish* fell from their Obedience, the Lord Justice *Parsons*, at a publick Entertainment, before many Witnesses, did positively declare, ^{al. No.} “ that ^{that} ^{111.}

“ that within a twelve Month no Catholick should be seen
 “ in *Ireland*. Many hands were sought, and thousands
 “ were found to Subscribe a Petition tending to introduce
 “ a severe Persecution against Catholicks.”

Prot. This, Sir, is a gross Fiction, taken up by *Peter Walsh* from Hearsay and Rumour, and given out by those, who would cover their own Evil Actions, by retorting them upon others. Extirpations or Massacres are not the Principles of Protestants, nor have they any Decrees of General Councils, or Rescripts, Bulls, or Dispensations of Popes, to countenance such things. Sir *William Parsons* was a
 p. 102. Zealous and Religious Protestant, and we have seen before, with what gentle lenitives, with what great Temper and Moderation, he and his Colleague Addressed themselves to mollify the sharp Humours raised by the rigid Passages in the former Government. This, Sir, does not look like an Appetite for Extirpation; nor, suppose such a Thing could enter into his Heart, is it any way probable, that a Man of common Prudence, not to say a Governour of a Kingdom, could be capable of making such a Declaration at a publick Entertainment, and before so many Witnesses. This is one of those Stories that executes itself. A Complaint of the like Nature is made in the *Irish Remonstrance* * of Grievances delivered to his Majesty's Commissioners at *Trim*, Namely, that Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *Adam Loftus* did Declare, “ that an Army of 10000 Scots would come to
 “ *Ireland* to force the Catholicks to change their Religion;
 “ and that *Ireland* would never do well without a Rebellion
 “ on to extirpate the Remainder of the Natives; and further, that Wagers were laid at the Assizes, that within
 “ a Year no Catholick should be left in *Ireland*.” The Story of Sir *William Parson's* Declaration is certainly grounded on this Article of the Remonstrance. Let us now see how it is answered by the King's Commissioners. “ As
 “ for the Chimera of bringing 10000 Scots to force the Papists to change their Religion, and that *Ireland* would
 “ never do well without a Rebellion, to the End the Natives might be Extirpated, it is no wonder the Remonstrants, whose thoughts were full of Extirpations, which
 “ they have too fully effected, should think the like designed by others. But it is incredible, that the Persons
 “ Named, whose Estates are in *Ireland*, and Families settled there, should disturb that Peace, they have so long
 “ laboured to Establish, or should desire a Rebellion, which
 “ would

* Artic. 6

“ would be *doubtful in Success*, but *certain in Desolation*.” Here is a rational Answer to this Point. And as to the ridiculous Story of Wagers at the Assizes, *that within a Year no Catholick should be left in Ireland*, the same Commissioners say, “ that at the Sheriffs Table at *Wexford Assizes*, a Protestant proposed to a Papist, *that he would give him 5l. and the other should give him 50l. for it, if he did not come to Church within a twelvemonth*. The Papist protested he would not come to Church within that Time. If you do not, says a Stander by, you must pay the 50l. and so the Joke came to be understood.” The Story of the Petition to introduce a Persecution is of the like complexion: For the *Irish Papists* never enjoyed so full a Connivance, nor was there ever so great a Harmony between the Professors of the two Religions, as in the Period which was succeeded by the Rebellion; and this appears by the Answer to the said Remonstrance.

Pap, I will give you, Sir, a Royal Evidence of the Apprehensions of Dangers the *Papists of Ireland* laboured under at this juncture, which I am sure you will not controvert. It is of King *Charles I.* who may be supposed to be the most knowing, and impartial Judge of this Matter. In his *Eikon Basilice* he says, “ Certainly it is thought by many wise Men, that the preposterous Rigour, and unreasonable Severity, which some Men carried before them in *England*, was not the least *incentive*, that *kindled* and *blew into horrid Flames*, the sparks of *Discontent*, which wanted not *predisposed Fuel of Rebellion* in *Ireland*; where Despair being added to their former Discontents, and the Fears of *utter Extirpation*, to their wonted *Oppressions*, it was easy to provoke them to open Rebellion &c. both to exempt themselves from their *present Restraint*, and prevent those after Rigors, wherewith they saw themselves *apparently threatned* by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some Men, who think it a great argument of the truth of *their Religion*, to endure no other but their own.”

Prot. I should deal tenderly with this Evidence, were I persuaded it was given by King *Charles I.* but as I am satisfied of the contrary, I shall, with Freedom examine it.

Pap. What! King *Charles I.* not Author of the *Eikon Basilice*? This is News indeed.

Prot. It may be News to you, Doctor, and to your Friend and Colleague. But the World is sufficiently convinced,

vinced, that the writing this Book was a pious fraud of Dr. *Gauden*, the real Author of it, intended for the King's service. You stare. But hear what the Rev. Dr. *Walker* says in a Treatise intitled, A true Account of the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. First, Invoking the great God, the searcher of Hearts, and revealer of Secrets, to witness the truth of what he declares, he proceeds, "I know, and believe, the Book was written by Dr. *Gauden*, except two Chapters by Dr. *Duppa*. Dr. *Gauden* acquainted me with his Design, shewed me the Heads of several Chapters, and some of the Discourses. Sometime after the King's Death, I asked him, whether his Majesty had ever seen the Book? He replied, I know it certainly no more than you; but I used my best Endeavours that he might; for I delivered a Copy of it to the Marquiss of *Hertford*, when he went to the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*,"—Again, "After the Restoration, says Dr. *Walker*, I asked Bishop *Gauden*, whether King *Charles II.* knew that he wrote it? The Bishop answered, that the King never expressed it; but the Duke of *York* spoke of it to him, and owned it as a seasonable and acceptable Service." Dr. *Gauden* delivered a part of the Book to Dr. *Walker* with his own Hand, which he carried to the Press.

Pap. This Dr. *Walker* must certainly be some disaffected Puritan.

Pro. No. He was a pious Divine of the Church of *England*. But since his Evidence does not satisfy you, hear Lord *Anglesey's* Memorandum upon this Subject, "King *Charles II.* and the Duke of *York*, did both in the last Session of Parliament (1675) when I shewed them in the Lord's House the written Copy of *Eikon Basilice*, wherein are some Corrections and Alterations written with King *Charles I.* own Hand, assure me, that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Doctor *Gauden*, which I here insert for the undeceiving others in this point, by attesting so much under my Hand."—*Anglesey*.—This matter did not come out till the Year 1686, when Mr. *Millington*, Auctioning Lord *Anglesey's* Library, put up the *Eikon Basilice*, and it going heavily off, he had leisure to turn over the Leaves, where he found the Memorandum before mentioned in Lord *Anglesey's* hand writing. This occasioned the World to talk, and several knowing the Relation between Dr. *Anthony Walker* and Bishop *Gauden*, they inquired what he knew concerning this

this Subject, which he then verbally communicated to them. But being afterwards provoked by Dr. *Hollingsworth's* injurious Reflections, he was obliged in his own Defence to publish an Account of it in Print, as before related. A more particular Relation of this Imposture may be seen in *Milton's Life*, published by *Toland*, and prefixed to his Works; and *Bishop Burnet* says¹, " that King *James* told¹ Hist. of
 " him, that his Father was not the Author of that Book, his own
 " but Dr. *Gauden*, the Merit of which Service got him a times vol.
 " Bishoprick, though he was opposed by Dr. *Sheldon*, and¹ p. 30.
 " other Bishops, because he had taken the Covenant."
 See the Critical History of *England*, vol. 1. p. 216. vol. 2. p. 190.

Pap. Suppose all you say to be true, and that Dr. *Gauden* was the real Author of the Book, which is fathered upon King *Charles I.* what Consequence would you draw from thence?

Prot. Why, that Dr. *Gauden* has less weight than the Royal Testimony. He was a recluse Man, had no relation to the Court or Family of King *Charles*, and consequently cannot be supposed to have a competent Knowledge in the Policies of those times. I think, Sir, the same Answer may serve this Doctor, that I gave to your other Doctor *Howell* before, namely, that he has given us his own thoughts, and would foist them upon the King. What weight can you lay upon the Evidence of a Man, who acts adouble Part, takes the Covenant against the King, and at the same time Writes for him; that is, who will in quiet enjoy his Peace and Preferment, even by the prostitution of his Conscience, and at the same time lay Schemes, for obtaining better terms upon a change of Affairs, which really happened to be his Lot? The Rigour, the unreasonable Severity, used to the *Papists* in *England*, which he says were incentives to the *Irish* Rebellion, have been discussed before, and their Despair, fears of Extirpation, Discontents, Oppressions, &c. all come under the same Head. But observe from him, the *Irish* did not want predisposed Fuel to kindle up their Rebellion, as the Doctor says, so that all his fears and apprehensions of threatened Danger vanish to nothing, or the Doctor writes nonsense. Every body knows, that a small Spark will set Fire to predisposed Fuel, and that was the Case here. The *Irish Papists* were ripe for Rebellion, and had been for many Years hammering out their Scheme, which now the apprehension of Danger from *England* gave
 P them

them a Pretence, and only a Pretence, to set Fire to this *predisposed Fuel*; and this seems to me to be the real Case.

Pap. Then you seem to be of Opinion that this Rebellion was a contrivance of many Years Standing, and not owing to the late Grievances of the People, or their Apprehensions of Dangers from *England*.

Prot. Indeed I do, and think I will make it Evident. It is hinted before *, that ever since the Reformation Popery, has by Plots, Conspiracies, and rebellions, been always struggling with, and labouring to overthrow it. I shall not enter into that Subject further than the Reign of King *Charles I.* You cannot expect a very certain Account hereof; because Plots and Conspiracies, hatched in Hell, are always carried on in the Dark, and with profound secrecy.

It appears by the Examination of Sir *Audley Mervin* (whose Sister was married to *Rory Maguire*, Brother to the Lord of that Name) taken before a select Committee of the House of Commons of *England*, “ that this Plot was of
 “ Antient date, and many times discontinued, but had
 “ been lively revived and prosecuted from the *Candlemas*
 “ before both in *England* and *Ireland*.” It also appears by
 * Borlase’s the relation † of the Lord *Maguire*, written by himself
 Append. when he was a Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, and delivered to the Lieutenant thereof, to be presented to the Lords in Parliament, “ that *Ever Mac-Mahon* told him, that presently after the Enterprize on the Isle of *Rees* (1626) he
 P. 15. “ being then in the *Low Countries*, was certainly informed,
 “ that the Earl of *Tyrone*, together with Colonel *O Neill*,
 “ did send to *France* to deal for procuring Aids to come
 “ then for *Ireland*, and received for Answer from the Marshal of *France*, who then commanded at the Isle of *Rees*,
 “ that he was willing to contribute his Endeavours for his
 “ furtherance therein, but that he could not answer his
 “ present Expectations, because the King of *France* had
 “ Wars in *Italy*, which he thought would be at an end in
 “ little more than half a Year, and then he need not doubt
 “ of Assistance.” So that whatever disguise you would cast, as if it were suddenly complotted upon account of an increase of Grievances, and apprehensions of Dangers from *England*, between the Parliament of 1639, and the Rebellion in 1641, you see that it was a Scheme of long and deep Contrivance, and a general Combination of the Natives to shake off the *English* Government, and extirpate the *Protestants* out of *Ireland*, and not occasioned by any real Apprehensions

prehensions of Violence to be obtruded on their Religion,
 Liberties, or Persons. The antient date of this Plot is con-
 firmed by your own Witness, the Lord *Castlehaven*, whose
 Testimony I will give you at large, because there is some-
 thing curious in his Account. “ I must confess (says his
 “ Lordship) I am my self now, as I have been long since ^m Mem-
 “ upon serious Reflection, abundantly convinced, that p. 22.
 “ however the Circumstances of this time (i. e. the trou-
 “ bles of *Scotland*,) gave Life and Birth to the Rebellion of
 “ *Ireland*, yet the design of it has been laid, partly at home,
 “ but chiefly abroad in Foreign Parts, even several Years
 “ before the Troubles either of *England* or *Scotland* began,
 “ and that the Original, true, and great Motive thereof,
 “ was no other than that fatal one, which for so many
 “ hundred Years from *Henry II.* to the beginning of King
 “ *James’s* Reign, had been not only the very Source of all
 “ the dangerous Rebellions of that Country, but the very
 “ Bane and Ruin of the People on all sides for so many A-
 “ ges ; the National Feud, I mean, betwixt the meer *I-*
 “ *rish* (as the antient *Milesians* are called) and the later *I-*
 “ *rish*, or Colonies of *English* extraction among them, and
 “ the unalterable persuasion of the former, that the *English*
 “ Conquest of that Country was but Usurpation, without
 “ any just Title, and that the right both to the supreme
 “ Sovereignty, and Proprietorship too, of all the Lands of
 “ *Ireland*, still remained, according to the Antient *Brehon*
 “ Laws of that Country (which, they say, had never been
 “ legally repealed or Antiquated) and consequently also,
 “ according to the Laws of God, in the surviving Heirs
 “ of the more Antient Natives, the *Milesians*. It is true,
 “ that forty Years continual and flourishing Peace in all
 “ obedience to the *English* Laws there from the last of
 “ Queen *Elizabeth* to 1641 seemed to carry a fair outside,
 “ as if all those National former Animosities and pretences
 “ had been utterly extinguished. But Alas ! the Old Le-
 “ ven still fermented inwardly on one side ; and among that
 “ side the *Fire* was but covered under *hot Embers*. The
 “ Earls of *Tirone* and *Tyrconnel*, and the Councils of *Spain*
 “ and *Rome*, and the *Irish Monasteries and Seminaries* in so
 “ many Countries of *Europe*, and very many of the *Church-*
 “ *Men* returning home out of them, and chiefly the *Titular*
 “ *Bishops*, together with the *Superiors of Regular Orders*,
 “ took an effectual course, under the *specious colour of Re-*
 “ *ligion*, to add continually more *Fuel to the burning Coals*,

“ and prepare them for a *Flame* on the first Opportunity ;
 “ which whoever did not see in the beginning of this Rebel-
 “ lion (as many did not) by observing what extraction, or
 “ what Names all the first Appearers in it were of, and
 “ how, particularly, of the whole hundred, that were
 “ designed for seizing the Castle of *Dublin*, there was not
 “ so much as one Person of *British* Blood, or name among
 “ them, might nevertheless without the help of any Mul-
 “ tipling Glass most clearly see it in the procedure of
 “ the War.”

These, Sir, are the Sentiments of a Man of Sense and
 Candor, and, though a *Papist*, I should in most particulars
 acquiesce in his Evidence. You here may take notice of
 the *predisposed Fuel* mentioned by Dr. *Gauden*, and what
 blew it up into a Flame at this Time. — This Account super-
 sedes my Intention of mentioning other Conspiracies before
 the Rebellion of 1641, namely, one discovered to the State
 in 1634, and Sir *Henry Vane*’s Letter to the Lords Justices
 in 1640, ‘ of Advice given to the King from Abroad, and
 “ confirmed by his Ministers in *Spain*, and elsewhere, of
 “ the great resort of *Church-men* from thence to *Ireland*,
 “ and of some good old Soldiers, under pretext of raising
 “ Men for the King of *Spain*, together with the Whispers
 “ of the *Irish* Friars of that Country, as if they expected
 “ a Rebellion in *Ireland*, and particularly in *Connaught*.”
 Yet I cannot pass over the Confessions of some of the Rebels,
 which appear by the Examinations taken upon Oath, some
 owning it to be a Plot of 2 Years standing (as *Hugh Mac-*
Mahon and *Patrick Maguire*) some of 7 or 8 (as Colonel
Plunket) some of 14 (as Frier *Malone*) and several others.
 So that long before, and at the very juncture that the *Irish*
 Agents were soliciting and obtaining Favours from the King
 was this infamous Rebellion in Agitation.

But suppose it should be granted, that the pressures on the
Irish Papists were many and heavy, and their Provocations
 intollerable, yet can any thing justify the incredibly nu-
 merous and inhuman Massacres perpetrated by them on the
British Protestants in cold Blood, in the very beginning of
 this Rebellion?

Pap. I readily grant, that no Provocation, how intollera-
 ble soever, could be any Justification or excuse ^a for such
 Massacres, as you would insinuate to have been perpetrated
 by the *Irish* Papists on the *British* Protestants in the begin-
 ning

ning of this Rebellion: But I absolutely deny your Supposition, that such Massacres were perpetrated; and I Challenge you to shew from unexceptionable Authorities the truth of what you Alledge.

Prot. You put the Proof upon me, and I will endeavour to make it out. Lord *Clarendon*°, who is the most moderate ° Rebel, of all our Writers upon this melancholly Subject, expressly of Engl. says “ that on the 23^d of *October* 1641 a Rebellion broke v. 1. p. “ out in all Parts of *Ireland*, except *Dublin*, where the 169. Dub. “ Design of it was miraculously discovered the Night before Edit. “ it was to be executed, and so the surprizal of the Castle “ prevented, and the principal Conspirators, who had the “ charge of it, apprehended. In the other Parts of the “ Kingdom they observed the Time appointed, not hearing “ of the Misfortunes of their Friends in *Dublin*. A Ge- “ neral Insurrection of the *Irish* spread it self over the whole “ Kingdom, in such an inhuman and barbarous Manner, “ that there were 40 or 50 thousand of the *English* *Protes-* “ *tants* murdered before they suspected themselves in any “ Danger, or could provide for their Defence by drawing “ together into Towns or strong Houses.”

Pap. This is a most shameful and injurious falshood^p; and^p Dial. p, I will prove from unquestionable Records, generally known 23. in Lord *Clarendon*’s Time, that this Rebellion, so far from breaking out on the 23^d of *October* 1641 in all Parts of *Ireland*, except *Dublin*, that it was then, and for sometime after, confined to some Parts of *Ulster* only. And if I prove; 9 that fewer by 3 Parts of 4 of the *Irish* did rise on the 23^d: 9 Ib. 24. of *October* 1641, than what his Lordship reports, may I not fairly conclude, that at least one half of the Murders laid to their Charge were never committed by them?

Prot. No, your Conclusion is wrong. For that would suppose, granting that the Rebellion broke out on one Day in every Province of the Kingdom, that the Virulence must be equal every where, the Number of Protestants equal, and the Resistance alike feeble, which is not to be supposed.

Pap. Let that be how it will, if I convict Lord *Clarendon* of so notorious an Untruth and Calumny, with respect to the beginning of the Rebellion in 3 whole Provinces of a Kingdom, consisting only of four (the revolting or quietness of which must be publicly known) we may well suppose, without the least breach of Charity, that he hath prevaricated much more egregiously with regard to the Number of

Persons murdered in that Revolt, the Knowledge of which is on many Accounts so very hard to be come at.

Prot. This is as inconsequential as what you advanced before, and is much the same Argument cast into another form. For the Numbers mentioned might have been murdered in the one Province of *Ulster* alone; and by all Accounts the Rebellion was carried on at all Times with more relentless Fury there, than in other Parts, owing to that inhuman Butcher, *Phelim O-Neil*, who conducted it. It should be observed, Sir, that Lord *Clarendon* in his History of *England*, from whence you draw your Objection, touches with a very light hand upon the Rebellion of *Ireland*, and Labours to throw what he says of it into a narrow Compass. He does not write like an Annalist by observing exact Days and Seasons, so that when he says the Rebellion broke out on the 23d. of *October* in all Parts of *Ireland*, his Expression should be taken with some Allowance, especially as he wrote in another Kingdom, where he must of Necessity take many things up from the Informations of others, who might deceive him. When he comes to write professedly, and more at large, upon the *Irish* Rebellion, he is more exact, and corrects the mistake (if such it may be called) made in his other History, which at least should be some Attonement for

‘ Ir. Reb. a small slip. For he says ‘ there ‘ that on a sudden, upon
p. 11. ‘ the 23d of *October* 1641, without so much as the least
‘ pretence of a quarrel, or hostility so much as apprehended
‘ by the Protestants, great Multitudes of the *Irish* Roman-
‘ Catholicks in the Province of *Ulster*, and shortly after, in
‘ other Provinces, and Parts of the Kingdom, tumultuously
‘ assembled together, put themselves in Arms, seized upon
‘ the Towns, Castles, and Houses belonging to the Protest-
‘ tants, which by force they could possess themselves of, and
‘ with most barbarous Circumstances of cruelty, within the
‘ space of less than 10 Days, murdered an incredible Num-
‘ ber of Protestants, Men, Women and Children, promif-
‘ cuously, without Distinction of Age or Sex, of any who
‘ were within the reach of their Power. They, who es-
‘ caped best, were robbed of all they had to their very
‘ Shirts, and so turned out naked, to endure the Sharpness
‘ of the Season, and by that Means, and for want of relief,
‘ many thousands of them perished by Hunger and cold.”
Here, Sir, is a Retraction of his former ungarded Expression, which, with St. *Augustin*, he was not ashamed to make; and, if you had been as candid as he, you would have taken
notice

notice of it, and have thereby saved your self the trouble of abundance of needless and frivolous Criticism. You see now he makes a Difference in the Time of the breaking out of the Rebellion in *Ulster* and other Parts, and he does not so much as specify the Number of Protestants who fell in that carnage, which I confess, is very hard to come at, yet he Paints to the life the Miseries of the Sufferers, which it did not Answer your end to take notice of.

But now, Sir, I am ready to hear your Proofs from unquestionable Records, that this Rebellion on the 23d of October 1641, and for some time after, was not *general* in all parts of *Ireland*, except *Dublin*, but confined to some parts of the Province of *Ulster*. I might spare you this trouble, since I in some sort admitted the Fact; yet I am resolved to go step by step with you, and answer you in your Folly, lest you should boast, that I have slid over some part of your Argument, and so take occasion to triumph.

Pap. The Proof is this^t. The Lords Justices in a Proclamation of the 29th of October 1641, explaining what they had too generally set forth in a former Proclamation concerning the *Irish Papists* engaged in the beginning of this Rebellion, declare and publish^u, that by the Words *Irish Papists* (mentioned without distinction in the former Proclamation) they intended only such of the *Old meer Irish* in the Province of *Ulster*, as had plotted, contrived, and been Actors in that Treason, and others who adhered to them. Dial. p.
25.

Prot. You might have spared this Proof, since I granted you, that the Rebellion did not appear to be at first *General*, and that Lord *Clarendon* in his *Irish History* had rectified his mistake made in that of *England*. But two Observations arise from hence. 1st. The Imputation laid on the Lords Justices, that they were willing that the Rebellion should spread, that there might be the more Forfeitures, appears from hence to be groundless, since they took such a Step, as is mentioned in this Proclamation, to keep the Lords and Gentry of the Pale firm to their Allegiance. 2dly. It betrays a great Perfidy in most of the Lords and Gentry of the Pale; who, though they quarrelled with the State for suspecting their Loyalty, yet it appears by Lord *Maguire's* relation^w, and other Evidence^x, that they were concerned^w in the first contrivance of the Rebellion, and openly unmasked themselves on the second of December after. Borl.
App. p.
16. But now let us hear your other Records. * Maxw.
Pap. Exam.

7 Dial. p.
26.

Pop. By the Lords Justices Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, dated the fourteenth of *December*, it evidently appears, that the Rebellion did not begin to be general till that Day. The Fire (say they ?) which was first kindled in *Ulster*, and lay a while smothered in other Parts, begins now to break out generally.

Prot. You confine these Words, *begins now to break out generally*, to a very narrow Sense, as if there was no appearance of Troubles in the other Provinces till that very Day ; which the Lords Justices never intended so to confine, as appears in the same Letter, but two Lines before, which was not to your purpose to take notice of. For there, giving an account of the number of Rebels united between *Dublin* and *Drogheda*, they say, “ there are many thousands
“ of them dispersed the whole Kingdom over.” And this, perhaps, may serve to explain what the Lords Justices mean in that Letter, when they say, “ that the Fire, which was first
“ kindled in *Ulster*, and lay awhile smothered in other
“ parts ;” as much as to say, that it had not blazed out with so great Violence in other parts, as in *Ulster*. Now to prove that *Munster* was over run with the Rebellion before the fourteenth of *December*, I will give you a better Testimony than that of the Lords Justices, namely, the Earl of *Cork*, then residing in *Munster* on the Spot, who must therefore be supposed to know the state of that Province earlier than the Lords Justices. His Letter * indeed to the Lord *Goring*, then in *England*, is dated from *Youghall*, the 6th of *January* 1641, wherein he says, “ I wrote to
“ you several Letters since my arrival here, and the last on
“ the seventeenth of *December* [so that it cannot be supposed
“ that he wrote several Letters to the same Person, between the fourteenth and seventeenth of *December*.] In
“ these my Letters I made a true representation of the miserable estate, whereunto this Kingdom was reduced,
“ and particularly this poor Province of *Munster*, which is
“ encompassed with Dangers round about, every Day
“ bringing us *Job's* Messengers of killing, preying, burning, and spoiling the *English* and Protestants, and none
“ other touched upon, and of the loss, or rather yielding
“ up of Cities and walled Towns.—The Lord *Dunboyne*,
“ and the two Lords *Bourkes*, and in effect all the Natives
“ of the County of *Limerick*, have declared themselves in
“ open Action, and in brief all that have sucked *Irish* Milk,
“ are infected with this general Treason and Rebellion.”—

And

* Orrery's
lett. p. 1.

And again, in his Letter of the 12th of January.—“ All
 “ the Natives, that are Papists, are in open Action of Re-
 “ bellion, except the Earl of *Barrymore*, who behaves him-
 “ self most Loyally and Valiantly, &c.” You see, Doc-
 tor, the Rebellion spread in *Munster* earlier than you are
 willing it should be thought ; and perhaps this may be some
 Qualification of your censure on Lord *Clarendon*.

Pap. You have said enough upon this head. I will now
 prove ^a further from the Minutes of the proceedings of the ^a Dial.
 House of Lords of *England*, that all was quiet in *Munster* p. 26.
 and *Connaught* on the 14th of *November* 1641. “ Next a
 “ Letter from the Lord *Clanriccard* to the Lord Chamber-
 “ lane, dated the 14th of *November* 1641, was read, of which
 “ the principal particulars were these, *that the Town of*
 “ *Galway is well fortified, and in Command of* Mr. Wil-
 “ loughby ; that the Province of *Connaught*, wherein Lord
 “ *Clanriccard* is, doth utterly dislike the Proceedings of the
 “ Rebels, the County of *Mayo* quiet, and the whole Pro-
 “ vince of *Munster* quiet.”

Prot. A wonderful discovery you have made ! That in
 twenty two Days after the Rebellion broke out in *Ulster*,
Connaught and *Munster* should continue in quiet. Why,
 Doctor, the Rebels of *Ulster* were too busily employed in
 Slaughtering the Poor Victims amongst them to attend so
 early to the Affairs of the remoter Provinces ; and the dis-
 affected in those latter Provinces might be willing to sit still
 a while, and see the Success of the first Undertakers, before
 they rashly fell into the Dance. Yet enough appeared soon
 after to shew, that the Infection had spread that way. The
 indisputable Loyalty of the Earl of *Clanriccard*, though a
Roman Catholick, undoubtedly contributed to keep a good
 part of the Province, of which he was Governor, within the
 terms of Obedience. Yet, Sir, all that Province, even on
 the 14th of *November*, was not in such a favourable disposi-
 tion, which you know very well, though for Reasons ob-
 vious you have concealed. For in the Place, from whence
 you have derived your Quotation, namely, the Preface ^b to ^b p. xxi.]
Clanriccard's Memoirs (a piece of Virulence enough) you
 might have seen from the same Letter of his Lordship's,
 “ that 2000 Rebels in the County of *Leitrim* (a part of *Con-*
 “ *naught*) are gone out, and that four Towns stand out.”
 And he advises “ that *Bryen O-Roirk*, then in *England*, should
 “ be secured, as he conceived him to be Dangerous in that
 “ time of Rebellion in *Ireland*, if he should escape.” Now,
 Q Sir,

c Borlase. Hist. p. 49. Sir, why did you not give us that Quotation fully, and without castrating it, and then it would have appeared, that all *Connaught* was not quiet on the 14th of *November*, but that one whole County, not a very small one, was up in Rebellion? Nor, if we may believe our Histories ^e, were the Counties of *Roscommon* and *Sligo* free from the Contagion, even in the beginning of *November*; “ for then the Lord “ President *Ranelagh*, coming down to his Government, “ found there many of the *inferior Irish*, and some of the “ *Gentry* in Rebellion, who soon after, by the help of the “ Conspirators of *Westmeath*, (a part of *Leinster*) blocked “ him up in the Castle of *Athlone*.” I have said something of the State of *Munster* before; and *Borlase* further informs us ^d, that the Flame burst out there about the beginning of *December*, which squares well enough with the Lord *Cork*’s Letter before cited.

a 1b. But now, Sir, give me leave to ask you a Question. If this Rebellion was not general ^e in all, or at least most parts of *Ireland*, (except *Dublin*) and if the *Irish* Papists in the other parts did not observe the time appointed, viz. the 23d of *October* 1641, as Lord *Clarendon* says they did ^f, how should it happen, that so many thousands of *English* Protestants were surprized and Murdered in that one Province, before they suspected themselves in any Danger, or could provide for their safety by drawing together into Towns and strong Houses.

Pap. The Earl of *Clarendon* thought it necessary to advance the *first falshood* concerning the generality of this Rebellion, in order to give some colour of truth to the *second*, namely, the incredible numbers of Murders, which, he says, were committed by the *Irish* in the beginning of it.

Prot. Perhaps then you will not allow, that any considerable number of *Protestants* were murdered at the first breaking out of the Rebellion.

Pap. After a careful perusal of the best Protestant Writers on this Subject, I do not see ^g any reason to induce me to think that there was. For Sir *John Temple* himself confesses ^h (and it is a most wonderful Confession from him) that the *Irish* in *Ulster* at the very first, for some few Days after their breaking out, did not in most places murder many *English*; but the Course they took was to seize upon all their Goods and Cattle.—And in all the Examinations, that have been published concerning the Murders committed during this Rebellion, I find no mention of any that were perpetrated by

c Borlase.
Hist. p.
49.

* Dial. p.
27.

f Engl.
Reb. p.
169.

g Dial.
p. 28.
h Rebel.
p. 38.

the *Irish* on the *English* on the 23d of *October* 1641, except of five Persons, who are not placed under any date; but are only in general said to have been murdered soon after the Rebellion; and sure that Day was so sadly remarkable, that whatever Mischiefs were done on it could not have been forgotten.

Prot. I thank you, Doctor, for ranking Sir *John Temple* amongst the best of Protestant Writers upon this Subject; and though I have been heretofore cautious in citing him, I shall not be so scrupulous for the time to come, since you give so obliging a Character of him. But why did you not pursue your quotation from him to the end of his period; and not, like *Hudibras*, break off in the middle, and so make it a merry Story of a Bear and Fiddle? But I will supply your deficiency, and from him tell the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. “The Course (says he) they took
“ was to seize upon all their Goods and Cattle [*this was a*
“ *starving Matter at last*] to strip them, their Wives and
“ Children naked, and in that miserable plight, the wea-
“ ther being most Bitter and Frosty, to turn them out of
“ their Houses, to drive them to the Mountains, to wan-
“ der through the Woods and Bogs; [*still a starving Mat-*
“ *ter*] and if they by any means procured any other Cloaths,
“ or but even ordinary Rags to cover their Nakedness, they
“ were presently taken from them again, and none suffer-
“ ed to give them any kind of Shelter by the way, Relief,
“ or Entertainment, without incurring the heavy displea-
“ sures of their Priests and Chief Commanders: And so they
“ drove such of the *English*, whose lives they thought fit at
“ that time to spare, clear out of the Country.” With
much more of the same kind. Now, good Doctor, you,
who are a Man of Bowels, I would ask you, whether would
be more eligible Death at once by the Sword, or to die by
Hunger, Famine, and the inclemencies of such a Season?
The Mercies of the Wicked are cruel.

But the early actual Murders of the Protestants were not so few, as you would represent them to be. “On the 24th
“ of *October* Advertisements came to the Lords Justices ⁱ Ibid, p.
“ from Sir *Arthur Tyringham* of the taking of *Newry*, 23.
“ and then the sad relations of Burning, Spoiling, and
“ horrible Murders committed within the Province of *Ulster*
“ began to multiply, and several Persons every Day, and
“ almost every Hour in every Day for a good while after
“ arrived, like *Job's* Messengers, telling the Stories of their

* ibid p: 36 “ own Sufferings, and the *fearful Massacres* of the poor *English* in those Parts, from whence they came.--Again *, the
 “ Priests had now charmed the *Irish*, and laid such bloody
 “ impressions in them, as it was held, according to the
 “ Maxims they had received, a mortal Sin to give any
 “ manner of Relief or Protection to any of the *English*.—
 “ The very *Irish* Children in the *very beginning* fell to strip
 “ and kill *English* Children.”

Now, Sir, what weight does your observation carry? namely, that in all the Examinations published, you find no mention of any Murders perpetrated on the twenty-third of *October*, or some time after. You see what is said of the Advertisement from Sir *Arthur Tyringham*, the Accounts succeeding that every Day, and of the *Irish* Children in the *very beginning* of the Rebellion killing the *English* Children. But the Reason of this will appear a while hence, when you come to foist in your scandalous *List* of *Irish* pretended to be murdered by the *English*, to which you shall be obliged with an Answer. You are mistaken in thinking, that in the Depositions there are no Dates to the times of the Commission of these Murders. Sir *John Temple* and Dr. *Borlase* give only very short Abstracts of them, and have for the most part, though not always, omitted the Dates. It is but a short Journey to the College Library, and there in thirty-two Volumes of Original Depositions, you will find those Omissions rectified, and infinite numbers of Depositions therein inserted, which neither *Temple* nor *Borlase* takes any notice of. Your bold Advances, together with those of your Colleague *Jones* in his *Impartial Examiner*, will one time or other provoke the Possessors of these Depositions to select the most glaring Instances of Cruelty therein contained, and, to your grief and confusion, publish them. It is not much matter whether the *Irish* began their Massacres on the 23d, 24th, or 25th, of *October*; but that they began them early, which is the essential point, is visible by what I have said.

* Dial p. 29. *Pap.* I will give you a presumptive Proof¹, stronger than a thousand positive Evidences, that no Murders at all, at least none considerable, were committed by the *Irish* at their first breaking out.

Prot. Ay! that will be something; let us hear your Proof.

* Temp. p. 27. *Pap.* The Lords Justices and Council in their Letter² of the 25th of *October* 1641 to the Lord Lieutenant, giving him

him an Account of the Rebellion, which they had received from Persons of Quality and Rank in *Ulster*, take notice indeed, "that the *Irish* had burned and plundered the " Houses of the *English* there at their first setting out." But they write not a Word of their having murdered a single Person, though they add, "that even in the County of " *Monaghan*, where they say these Fires did first break out, " and consequently should have raged with greatest Fury, " those Rebels then had the Lord *Blaney's* Wife, Children, " and Servants in their power, as likewise several other " Families, a Plantation of *English*, and the Inhabitants " and Garrison of the Town of *Newry*." And what puts it out of all doubt, that the Lords Justices and Council heard of no Murders committed by the *Irish* (and therefore that no Murders had been then committed by them) they expressly add, "that this plundering and burning of Houses, " though too much, *is all we yet hear is done by them*.

Prot. This negative or presumptive Proof, as you call it, will not weigh a feather in the ballance against one positive Evidence, which will appear upon the examination of it. Because the Government had *then* heard of no Murders, that therefore none were *then* committed, is inconsequential. Consider the distance of *Monaghan* and *Newry* from *Dublin*, the one 56 Irish Miles, and the other 47. Lord *Blaney* was certainly not with his Family, or he would have been at least made a Prisoner; and Sir *Arthur Tyringham* was absent from his Garrison, or he would have had the same Fate. Lord *Blaney* arrived at *Dublin* at 12 o'Clock at Night the same Day the Rebellion broke out, and consequently must have left whatever Place he came from (we must suppose from some Place near *Monaghan*, as he had heard of the seizure of his Family) early in the Morning of that Day, and certainly before any Carnage began. Sir *Arthur Tyringham* arrived three Hours after Lord *Blaney*, and the same Observation extends to him. You are artful enough in saying, "that the Account the Government received " was from Persons of Quality and Rank in *Ulster*," by which you would insinuate, that their Accounts were from others besides Lord *Blaney* and Sir *Arthur Tyringham*, which is not true. Where does it appear that the Garrison of *Newry* was conducted to *Monaghan*? Not one Word of it in that Letter, nor any thing else of them, but that they were disarmed. But it appears from that Letter, "that all the Counties in the Kingdom had conspired in " the

“ the Rebellion,” which is an early Proof of the extent
 “ of it. The Government date that Letter on the 25th;
 and the Account they received from Lord *Blaney* and Sir
Arthur Tyringham, must be on the 24th, or the earliest the
 23d at 12 o’Clock at Night, being but one Day before the
 date of their Letters to the Lord Lieutenant, which proba-
 bly went off early, as they required Dispatch. That no
 other Account arrived on the 23d, is a much stronger Pre-
 sumption than what you make, in regard of the Dangers of
 the Roads, and that they were beset to prevent intelligence
 to the Government; so that upon the whole your presump-
 tive Proof is little better than a mouthful of Moonshine.

Pap. But what can you say, Sir, to the Lady *Blaney* and
 her Children, who escaped being murdered, though they
 were in the power of the Rebels?

Prot. A very good and probable Reason may be given
 for that, namely, that they were reserved for Hostages, in
 case any of their Friends had fallen under the Power of
 the Government. But this I cannot with any certainty

• Cox’s affirm. The Narrative Deposition of Dr. *Jones* ^a possibly
 App. p. may cast some light over this Matter, and afford a Reason,
 41. why the Lord *Blaney*’s Wife, Children, Servants, and
 other Families at *Monaghan*, were at present preserved. He
 says, “ that a Guardian of the Franciscan Friars informed
 “ him, that upon a Consultation had among the *Romish*
 “ Clergy previous to the Rebellion, *what Course should be*
 “ *taken with the English and Protestants*, they were divided
 “ in Opinion, some were for Banishment, without at-
 “ tempting on their Lives; others were for cutting them all
 “ off; and some leaned to a middle way, neither to dis-
 “ miss nor kill them, but to reserve them, either for pro-
 “ fit by their Ransom, or for exchange of Prisoners, or
 “ gaining their own Pardons, if they should want Success,
 “ or by their Deaths (if the worst should happen) to satif-
 “ fy their Fury; and he observes in his Deposition, that
 “ these three ways were pursued in different Places during
 “ the progress of the Rebellion.”

• Dial, p. Question^o, namely, whether you can suppose it possible,
 31. that the Lords Justices and Council should not have heard
 of these Murders on the 23d of *December* following; espe-
 • Reb. p. cially since the modest and veracious Sir *John Temple*^r, and
 114. his great Encomiast and Copyer, the Bishop of *Dromore*^r,
 • Serm. on roundly assert, that in the two first Months of the Rebel-
 23 Oct. lion. (with which space of time the Date above mentioned
 exactly

exactly coincides) “ more than 150000 Protestants were
 “ massacred in cold Blood, and that the most cruel, as well
 “ as the most frequent of those Massacres, were committed
 “ in *Ulster*.”

Prot. Without doubt it is impossible but they must have heard of these Massacres long before the 23d of *December* following.

Pap. That being granted, is it reasonable to believe, that
 “ in the Commissions of that date authorizing certain Com-^{r Dial p^s}
 missioners to call upon those, who had suffered by the Rebel- 32. 52.
 lion, and on the Witnesses of those Sufferings, to give in
 Examinations of the *Nature* of them, and of every Cir-
 cumstance relating thereto ; particularly therein mentioning
Plunder, Robbery, treasonable Actions, and even *Speeches* and
Words ; and yet that the Lords Justices and Council should
 not by the same Commission have given Power to those Com-
 missioners to take cognizance of *Murders* too, if even the
 thousandth Part of those execrable Massacres had been
 then committed by the *Irish*, which we are now told of ?
 Yet not a Syllable of Murders is mentioned in these Com-
 missions ; which is a strong Proof, that no such Murders
 were committed on the 23d. of *December* 1641.

Prot. I must tell you, Doctor, a deformed Face stands
 in need of a *fucus* ; and you endeavour to spread a *fucus*
 over these deformed Massacres. But I will prove as evident-
 ly as any fact can admit of a Proof, that there were Num-
 bers of Murders committed by the Papists on the Protestants,
 during the period you Mention. As to the Commissions,
 you must be informed, that there were two issued, ^{r Borl.} one on
 the 23d. of *December*, as you Mention, and the other on ^{Hist. p.}
 the 18th of *January* following. The Cause of issuing the 51.
 first Commission was this. Numbers of dispoiled Protestants,
 both People of Rank and others, had flocked up to *Dublin*
 from all Parts, stripped of their Substance, and naked, who
 were a great Burthen to the City. The first of the Com-
 missions then was for two Purposes, namely, the better to
 distinguish the several qualities and former abilities of the
 Sufferers, that relief might be administred to them accord-
 ing to their Ranks, and that an Account may be taken of
 their several losses in order to a Restitution when Matters
 should be brought to a Settlement; and this partly appears in
 a Letter of the Lords Justices and Council to the Speaker of
 the House of Commons of *England*, dated the 7th of *March*
 1641, recommending Dr. *Henry Jones* to sollicite the Cause
 of

of the poor despoiled *English*, in order to some relief. The second Commission was in Order to ground Attainder thereon of the capital Rebels. It would have been superfluous in the first of these Commissions to direct an inquiry after *Murders*, it not being the intent of it. And yet here it would seem by your own Account of this first Commission, that power was given to inquire after *Murders*; for you say, that *treasonable Actions* are specified therein; and by the Statute of 10th *Henry VII.* Chap. 2. *Murder* is made *Treason* in this Kingdom; and accordingly Examinations were taken thereof; which shews, that the Commissioners understood, that by the Words *treasonable Actions* they were warranted to inquire after *Murders*. That Numbers of Murders were committed by the *Irish* on the *English* between the 23d of *October* and the 23d of *December* may be made manifestly appear not only by printed Books, and Depositions of Witnesses, but by publick Instruments.

* 1b. p.
57-

* 1b. p.
59-

From Authorities in printed Books we are told^t, that *Rory Maguire* on the first Day of the Rebellion, hung up no less than 18 Persons in the Church of *Clownish*, and afterwards set fire to it. The same Author says, ^u that on the same Day Mr. *Madder*, Minister of the Parish of *Donoghmore*, was murdered by the *Donnelies*, and within a while after Mr. *New*, Curate of the Church of *Ardtra*, and Mr. *Blyth*, and 8 more. On the 24th the same *Rory Maguire* seized on Mr. *Middleton*, compelled him to hear Mass, and then caused him, his Wife, and Children, to be hanged, and murdered an hundred more in the same Town.

As to Authorities from Depositions, I will mention a few, among thousands, that you may see in the College Library.

* Vol. 29.

* Templ.
p. 80.

* App p.

114. Mc.

Carmicks

Evidence

in the

Tryal of

Lord

Maguire.

On the 23d of *October* *Newry* was surprized ^w by Sir *Con. Magenis*, and other Rebels, and 15 of the Town's People hanged. The same Day, ^x *Arthur Champion*, a Justice of Peace in the County of *Fermanagh*, and several of his Neighbours (*Borlase* says ^y 16) were murdered at *Shannock-Castle*. *Henry Mead*, and his Wife, *John Bigel*, *William Stell*, and *Daniel Stubs*, were murdered by *Lisagh Ferrals*, and *Oliver Fitz-Gerald's* Men, who hanged them on a Windmill, and when they were half dead cut them to Pieces with their Skeins. The Fact was sworn to on the 21st of *November* 1641, more than a Month before your Date, though the Time of the Commission of it is not ascertained. *Anthony Stratford Esq;* deposeth, that about the beginning of the Rebellion *John Matthew*, Mr. *Blyth*, Mr. *Hastings*, Mr. *Smith*,

Smith, Mr. Durragh, and Mr. Birge, were murdered by the Rebels in the Counties of Tirone and Ardmagh, none of whom were suffered to be buried. And he gives an Account of 3211 murdered in the said two Counties in the beginning of the Rebellion; of whom he had lists given him by Eye Witnesses, which, being a Prisoner, he durst not keep.

Now, Sir, for Authorities from a few publick Instruments, of which I will not incumber you with many.

On the 30th of *October* 1641 the Lords Justices and Council issued a Proclamation ^a taking notice of some, who ^a Borlas. were not original Plotters, but were seduced by the Conspi- App. p. rators, and inviting them to Submission, wherein they shew, ^{21.}
 “ that these wicked Malefactors had surprized some of his
 “ Majesty’s Garrisons in the North of *Ireland*, had *Slain*
 “ divers good Subjects, imprisoned some, and robbed and
 “ spoiled many, &c.”

On the 2d of *November* 1641 the Lords Justices and Council issued a Commission ^a to the Lord *Gormanstown*, to ^a *Ib* p. 91. raise and assemble the Forces in the County of *Meath*, wherein they take notice, “ that divers malignant Persons
 “ had traiterously assembled themselves together in a warlike
 “ Manner, and had most inhumanely made *Destruction* and *De-*
 “ *vastation* of the Persons and Estates of his Majesty’s Loyal
 “ Subjects, and taken, *Slain*, and imprisoned great Numbers
 “ of them, &c.” N. B. This Lord after so great a Trust and Confidence reposed in him, in just a Month after joined ^b in the Rebellion. ^b Cox. vⁱ

On the 17th of *November* 1641 the Lords and Commons ^{2.} p. 83. in Parliament assembled entred their Protestation and Declaration ^c against the *Irish* Rebellion, the Preamble to which ^c *Ib*. App. recites, “ that whereas the happy and peaceable Estate of ^{xii.}
 “ this Realm hath been of late, and is still, interrupted by
 “ sundry Persons ill affected to the Peace and Tranquility
 “ thereof, who contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to his
 “ Majesty, and against the Laws of God, and the funda-
 “ mental Laws of this Realm, have traiterously and rebel-
 “ liously raised Arms, seized upon his Majesty’s Forts and
 “ Castles, and dispossessed many of his faithful Subjects of
 “ their Houses, Lands, and Goods, and have *Slain* many
 “ of them, and committed other *cruel* and *inhumane Outra-*
 “ *ges*, and Acts of *Hostility* within this Realm, &c.”

Let these Authorities suffice; and when you have considered their weight, drawn from historical Evidence, from the testimony of Depositions solemnly taken upon Oath by

virtue of Commissions, from Proclamations and Instruments of Government, and from the Protestation and Declaration of the Lords and Commons of Parliament, I fancy you will retract your hasty Assertion, viz. that no Murders were committed by the Rebels before the 23d of *December* 1641; if not, I am confident a Demonstration of *Euclid* will not convince you. And now, Sir, you ought to make some acknowledgment for the Affront offered to the Memory of the *modest* and *Veracious* Sir *John Temple*, as with an ironical sneer you call him, and of his *Encomiast* and *Copier* the Bishop of *Dromore*, now Bishop of *Meath*, whose Reputation is placed on high, above the snarls of any little would-be Critick, or your Malice.

Pap. Your are angry, Sir.

* Dial. p. 51. *Prot.* I am, and I have Reason; that you should dare to Mention with disrespect a Right Reverend Prelate, whose whole Life hath been one continued round of doing Good; not for the little Slur ^r upon me, which I from my Heart despise. But now let us proceed with temper, at least till new Provocations start.

e Hist. Eugl. Ren. v. 1. p. 169. *Pap.* Notwithstanding what you have advanced, yet I must confess, that my Faith is much staggered by the Reports of the great number of Protestants said to be murdered at the first breaking out of this Rebellion, amounting, according to Lord *Clarendon*, ^e to 40 or 50000, and which are far exceeded by others, and more especially as these Murders, if any such were committed, are confined to the Province of *Ulster* alone, where the Flames first burst out; in which quarter of the Kingdom it is much to be doubted, whether so many Protestants were Inhabitants at this Period.

f Answ. p. 94. *Prot.* You confine yourself, I find, to Lord *Clarendon's* History of the *English* Rebellion, on which I have made some Remarks before ^f. But in this also you mistake: For Lord *Clarendon* doth not restrain these Murders to the Province of *Ulster*, but extends them to the whole Kingdom; and in his History of the Rebellion of *Ireland* he does not even mention any Numbers. Your doubt, whether 40 or 50000 Protestants inhabited *Ulster* in 1641, will admit of a much easier solution, than whether so many were slain. Your Collector of Murders *R. S.* in his Preface, extends this Consideration over the whole Kingdom, and avers, ^e that ^e it is well known so many Protestants did not live in *Ireland* in the beginning of the Rebellion, as have been
^e printed

“ printed to be murdered. I shall confine myself to *Ulster* according to your Doubt. Before the Plantation of the six escheated Counties of *Ulster* about the Year 1610 numbers of Protestants were dispersed over all that Province, several Corporate Towns were soon after erected and inhabited principally by them, and in the Plot discovered by *Teig O-Lenan* in 1615^g, it appears, that one of the chief Designs of that Conspiracy was to murder the Protestants therein; which implies that good Numbers of these People were then settled there; for it would not be worth while to cut off a few straggling Persons. Cap. *Pynnar* in his return to the Government of his Survey made of the escheated Counties in 1619, Sets forth^h, That there “ were then planted in the said Counties at least 8000 “ Men able for his Majesty’s service ” (not to mention the three other Counties of *Ulster*, which had been planted long before) now if you add to this Account Women and Children under 16 Years of Age, then unable to bear Arms, you may well estimate them at 5 Times as many, which will make the total Amount 40000 Souls; and if you still add the Inhabitants of the 3 other Counties planted in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the whole may be well computed at 80000 Souls, without straining the truth. It has been computed, that People increase by Generation 7. 8ths. in 20 Years. If this be admitted, then the *British* in the 6 Counties mentioned may be estimated to double in 22 Years, i. e. from 1619, when *Pynnar* finished his Surveys, to 1641, so that the whole will amount to 80000 Souls; and as many more may be well added for the 3 other Counties, which had been planted in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. This, Sir, is sufficient enough to Answer your Objection.

Pap. From what you have said I may admit, that there were many more Protestants settled in *Ulster* in 1641, than several Writers have been willing to allow. Yet when I considerⁱ the surprizing Difference and inconsistency of the Accounts given of these Murders by the Enemies of the *Irish Papists*, it is no inconsiderable Proof of the falshood of the Imputation. Sir *William Petty*, soon after that Period, says, “ that after the closest Scrutiny there were not above “ 36000 killed on both Sides, in the Field, and in cold Blood, “ during the whole time of the War.” And I have seen a Manuscript written about the Year 1667 which says, that 400 *English* could not be found murdered during the whole Time of this Rebellion, “ as appear e (adds the Author)

^g Answ.
P. 39.

^h Hibern
p. 1. p.
126.

ⁱ Dial p.
221

“ by the Proceedings and the Records of the usurped Powers
 “ still extant in *Dublin*, and their severe Inquiry, and
 “ High Court of Justice.”

Prot. That there are Differences in the Accounts given of these Murders must be admitted, some making them 40 or 50000, some 150000, some 154000, and others extending them to 300000. But these Differences create no Inconsistencies. Because some Writers give their Accounts of the Massacres at the first rising, some carry their Numbers to the Cessation on the 15th of *September 1643*, some to one Period, and some to another; and all of them, it must be confessed, speak upon conjecture; it being most difficult, nay an impossible task, to speak with any Degree of certainty upon the Subject; so that from hence you cannot draw any Proof of the falsity of the Imputation. How wretchedly fallacious have you acted, Doctor, in putting into Sir *William Petty's* Mouth to say, “ that after the closest
 “ Scrutiny there were not above 36000 killed on *both Sides*,
 “ in the *Field*, and in *cold Blood*, during the whole Time of
 “ the War;” and, lest your Reader should overlook the Point, you take care to Print it in Capitals. Here, Sir, though of little Moment, you sink one thousand of *Petty's* Account, and you carry in the whole continuance of the
 “ War, and those killed on both Sides in the Field and in
 “ cold Blood,” i. e. both *Protestants* and *Papists*. Your fraud in this Quotation will be fully answered by only giving it exactly Word for Word from *Petty*. “ Whereas, (says
 “ he) the present Proportion of the *British* is as 3 to 11,
 “ but before the Wars the Proportion was less, viz. 2 to
 “ 11, and then it follows, that the Number of *British* Slain
 “ in 11 Years (he carrying his Calculation to 1652) was
 “ 112000 Souls, of which I guess two thirds to have per-
 “ rished by War, Plague, and Famine; so as it follows that
 “ 37000 were massacred in the first Year of tumults. So
 “ as those, who think 154000 were so destroyed ought to
 “ review the grounds of their Opinions.” You see, Sir, he makes the 37000 to be massacred in the first Year of tumults, you, during the whole War, only 36000, and that on both Sides in the Field, and in cold Blood. These are very material Variances, which create inconsistencies much greater than what you Complain of in other Writers. You put it also into *Petty's* Mouth to say, “ that after the
 “ exactest Scrutiny he finds that only 36000, &c. fell,”
 “ whereas he tells us, that he only guesses at this Matter.
 And

And indeed the most careful Calculations, where there is not some certain Foundation to build upon, can in their Natures be only Guess-work. Now, Sir, ought you not to be ashamed of this false Imposition, and to retort the blame on your Co-Adjutor, if you have room to do so? Suppose you should say in Print, "I guess that 150 died in *Dublin* this Week of Fevers. Would you think your self fairly treated by any Body, who should affirm, "That upon the closest Scrutiny, and upon examining the Bills of Mortality, Dr. Curry alledges, that "50 only died this Week of Fevers." The Case is parallel. I can say nothing to the validity of the Manuscript you quote in Proof, "That not 400 *English* were murdered during the whole Rebellion," having never seen the same: But when for this he refers to the Records of the usurped Powers still extant in *Dublin*, and their severe Inquiry, and High Court of Justice, I cannot but think he hath given us a false Account. For in all my searches through the Records for many Years I never met with any such; and if the Author, or you, had referred to the particular Office I should have taken care to have made an exact Scrutiny into it upon this very Occasion. Therefore, I can consider your Manuscript in no other Light than as your former Quotation from *Petty*, namely, as an Imposition on your Readers. Your quoted Manuscript refers only to the Records of the *Usurped Powers*; so that the Massacres of the first seven or eight Years are omitted by that Author, which makes a material Variance. We are told by Dr. *Maxwell* in his large Examination, "That "the Rebels (least they should be hereafter charged with "more Murders, than they had committed) commanded "their Priests to return a true Account of them;" and that the Persons so slaughtered (whether in *Ulster* or the whole Kingdom he durst not inquire) in *March* before (his Examination being taken on the 22d of *August* 1642) amounted to 154000; and the Jesuit *O-Mahony* confesses to 150000 slaughtered in four Years time; of which more fully hereafter. I hope, Sir, this will qualify your Objection as to the Numbers slain.

From what has been before said I trust you will allow, that this Rebellion, soon after it broke out, became general among all the Popish Natives of *Ireland*.

Pap. It did, I confess, soon after become too General; Dial. p. but not among all the Popish Natives of the Kingdom; and 35.
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the cause of its becoming so general was owing to the Tyranny of the Lords Justices, which I have already proved.

Prot. You have not proved this, unless you would have me admit your Allegation to be proof, which I have fully answered.

Pap. Hear then other proofs. “ Many Persons of Honour, f Ir. Reb. “ says Lord *Clarendon* †, among the *Irish* Catholicks had p. 13. “ always given signal proofs of their Duty and Affection to “ the King.—Others were by the Passion and Rigour of “ those who were then in Authority (and had power enough “ to destroy, whom they had inclination enough to suspect “ or accuse) driven to put themselves into the protection of “ those, whose Ways and Courses they totally disapproved; “ and many, who were by misinformation, and misbelief, “ engaged in the carrying on, and possibly in the contriving “ of the War and Insurrection, were Enemies to those ac- “ tions of Bloody Rapine and Inhumanity, which dishon- “ ours any War, and grew quickly willing to repair the “ breaches they had made, and to return to the Duty which “ they had violated.”

Prot. I wonder you would bring this Witness on the Table again, whom you have taken so much pains to blemish. This is not acting like an upright Judge, who upon such an occasion would inform the Jury, that no Notice was to be taken of such a Witness, who had tripped in his Evidence. Yet I shall not be so severe on Lord *Clarendon*, but will admit you to make the best use you can of him, observing only, that he writ at a distance from the scene of Affairs, and consequently could not enter into the Springs and Motives of Actions so well as those who were on the Spot, and in the management of the Government. I told you before, that I was not an Advocate for Lord *Strafford*, nor am I for these Lords Justices. If they wanted Wisdom or Skill to steer the Ship in such boisterous Weather, they are rather to be pitied than condemned. But that does not appear to have been the Case, and I doubt not to make it manifest, that they Acted as Uprightly and Wisely, as the difficulties of such terrible times could admit of. When the Plot for seizing the Castle and Magazines, and murdering the Lords Justices, was discovered, they seized some of the principal Conspirators. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*—Was this Passion and Rigour? Or would you have had such Assassins set at large only with a check, and turned out of the Walls to inflame their Co-Patriots?

Patriots? You have seen before ^g with what Temper and Moderation these *passionate* and *rigorous* Lords Justices held the Helm. It appears ^h by the Examination and Confession of *Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon* taken before the Lords Justices on the 22d of *October*, “ that all the Lords and Gentlemen of “ the Kingdom, that were *Papists* (not excepting those of “ the Pale) were engaged in the Plot ;” and the same is confirmed by the Examination ⁱ of *Patrick O Brien*. Yet did these *Rigorous* and *Passionate* Lords Justices believe one word of this? Or did they send abroad Warrants to secure any of these Lords and Gentry of the Pale. No, and in this I think they acted too remissly. For had they done so, they might have prevented the Universality of the Rebellion. On the contrary, to shew the trust they reposed in the Lords and Gentry of the Pale, who were *Papists*, they not only issued Commissions ^k of Martial Law to several active Gentlemen among them, but likewise sent Commissions of Government of the several Counties to many others, for the most part *Papists*, and, among the rest, to the Lord *Gormanstown* for the County of *Meath*, whose Commission you may see at large in *Temple* ^l, and such Confidence had they in them, that they gave them power to grant Protections to any of the Rebels, and to receive them into his Majesty’s mercy. Further they delivered ^m to them 1700 Arms, with Powder, Lead, and Match proportionable, for the Defence of themselves and the King, a great part of which was soon after made use of in the Rebellion; which proves *Mac-Mahon’s* Confession not to be ill grounded. By these Methods it would seem, that the Lords Justices, instead of fomenting the Rebellion, as by you, and others of your Kidney, is basely insinuated, applied *lenitives* instead of *Corrosives*, *Moderation* and *Sweetness*, instead of *Passion* and *Rigour*, for reducing a Rebellious Nation to Obedience. So that upon the whole, and from many other particulars that might be urged, it would seem, that the Lord *Clarendon’s* Assertions were too hastily taken up, and that those Lords and Gentry of the Pale were too early and too deeply involved with the Rebels to be easily reclaimed. And that this is not an hasty conjecture may be made evident from many passages of those Times. The Lords Justices and Council by their Letter ⁿ of the 14th of *December* inform the Lord Lieutenant, “ that, to remove “ all Jealousies from the *Papists* of the Pale, they had delivered them 1700 Arms, many of which were now employed against them; so as those (say they) whose Loy-
“ alty

Answ.

p. 101.

Templ.

p. 21.

Ib. p. 61.

Ib. p. 50.

p. 52.

Ib. p. 53.

160.

Ib. p.

158.

alty we had reason to expect would help us, are now,
 through their Disloyalty, turned against us, and are
 strengthened with our own Arms : And without all ques-
 tion, if those of the *Pale* had done their parts, as became
 good Subjects, with the Arms they had from us, and
 those they might gather amongst themselves, they might,
 with our help, not only have defended the *Pale* against the
 Rebels, but might have prevented the Ruin and Destruction
 wrought by their Tenants and Neighbours on the
 poor *English* and *Protestants* among them. For the No-
 blemen and Gentry sat still and looked on, whilst the
English and *Protestants* were ruined before their Faces ;
 the *Papists* in the mean time remaining secure, without
 the loss of Goods, or any thing else.—On the 3d of De-
 cember we directed our Letters to divers of the Nobility
 nearest to us, most of them being of the *Pale*, to be with
 us on the 8th, that we might confer with them concern-
 ing the State of the Kingdom.—On the 8th the Earl of
Kildare, and the Lords *Fitzwilliams*, and *Howth*, came
 unto us ; but the rest not coming, we deferred our Con-
 ference, and on the 11th we received Letters from the
 Earl of *Pingall*, and the Lords *Gormanstown*, *Neterville*,
Slaine, *Trimelston*, *Dunsany*, and *Lowth*, dated the 7th,
 pretending a fear of a Massacre on those of their Religion,
 and that therefore they were deterred to wait on us, but
 rather thought fit to stand on their Guard : And how
 that Resolution of theirs may stand with the Loyalty they
 profess, we submit to his Majesty's judgment. We ad-
 mired whence their fears of coming to us should arise ;
 but afterwards heard they had been in Consultation with
 the Rebels—and indeed we know no cause of fear they
 have of us, unless their own Guilts begot in them the fear
 they pretend ; and they spare not, though unjustly, to
 charge us with a neglect of their Advices ; whereas not
 one of them to this Day offered us any Advice, or real
 Assistance towards the pacification of those Troubles. It
 became then publick (nor could we keep secret what they
 published to others) that these Noblemen, so far sided with
 the Rebels, as they now stood on their Guard. We
 therefore thought fit to publish a Proclamation, as well
 to satisfy the World, as these Noblemen, who are abun-
 dantly satisfied in their own secret thoughts, that we ne-
 ver intended to Massacre them or any other, *that being a*
thing, which we, and all good Protestants, abhor, whatever
 the

“ *the practice of their Religion is, and hath been found to be*
 “ *by woeful experience in other Parts.* [a further proof of this,
 “ that there were Massacres before the 23d of *December*, the
 “ contrary of which you before alledged]—A Castle in the
 “ Town of *Longford* held by the *English*, being obliged to
 “ be rendered up upon promise of Quarter, a *Popish* Priest
 “ watching for the coming forth of a Minister, then among
 “ the *English*, thrust his Skein into his Guts, and ripping
 “ up his Belly, gave that as a signal to the Rebels for falling
 “ upon the rest of the *English*; which they did most perfid-
 “ iously.”

You see, Sir, this conduct of the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale*; and at length their carriage became so misterious and doubtful, neither giving intelligence, nor making any preparations against them, that their infections began to be justly suspected. You see by the Lord *Maguire's* Relation ^o Ib. p. 54. that the first Complotters were very sure, that when ^p Borl. they had risen out, the *Pale* Gentry would not stay long App. p. after, at least they would not oppose them in any thing, 11. “ but be Neuters.” By their conduct this now appears to be true. I could give you many more proofs of the early Engagement of the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale* in this Rebellion. Now I will ask you, was it the *passion* and *rigour* of those in Authority [as Lord *Clarendon* alledges] that drove the Lords of the *Pale* to put themselves under the Protection of those, whose Ways and Courses they totally disapproved, when it appears they were originally embarked with them?

Pap. Though you disapprove of Lord *Clarendon's* Testimony, yet I hope you will allow that of the King's; who in his *Eikon Basilice* testifies ^a, “ that those Persons then in ^a Dial. p. Authority in *Ireland* exasperated the Rebels to the most 36. “ desperate Resolutions and Actions, by threatening all extremities, not only to the known Heads and Chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole Community of the Nation, resolving to destroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children, without any regards to the usual Pleas of Mercy, which Conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own Breasts, in behalf of those, whose “ oppressive Fears, rather than Malice, engaged, &c.”

Prot. I thought I had proved to you before ^r, that the *Eikon Basilice* was not the work of King *Charles*, but of Dr. *Gauden*; nor am I now very solicitous to trouble myself with what this Recluse Man has said. But how did those in

Authority *exasperate* the Rebels to the *most desperate Resolutions* and *Actions*, by threatening not only the *known Heads* and *Chief Incendiaries* with *all extremities*, but even the whole Nation. Why, I believe they did, as all wise Governments would do, proclaim them Rebels; and if that were exasperating them, they very richly deserved it. Nor was this Action of theirs solely upon their own Authority; but the Proclamations were signed by the King himself; which affords a strong Argument, that his Majesty was not the Author of the *Eikon Basilice*, or he must thereby contradict his Proclamation. "But, proceeds the Author of the *Eikon Basilice*, their *oppressive fears*, rather than *Malice*, engaged them in those Courses." If that be Doctor *Gauden's* Opinion, certainly he and I much differ. For I think I have proved it before in various parts of this Dialogue, that it was Malice to the Protestant Religion, a desire to set up Superstition and Idolatry in its room, to overturn the *English* and *Scotch* Colonies; and to recover their Antient Estates, justly forfeited by many Rebellions, that engaged the Heads of this Faction in so desperate an Enterprize; and I leave it to the impartial Judge, who hath heard what I have said, whether Doctor *Gauden* or I be in the right. But to bring the Matter to a Point. Can you produce me any Instances of such *Tyranny* in the Persons then in Authority in *Ireland*? For if you can do that, I shall readily condemn them, and think the poor Rebels had hard Measures.

¹ Dial. p.
36.

² Borl.
Hist. p. 33.

Pap. I can produce¹ you several Instances of such Tyranny in their Civil as well as Military Administration; but at present shall confine my self to a few examples of their *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical* proceedings in the former respect, tending rather to foment and increase, than suppress this Rebellion: As first, their peremptorily and abruptly dissolving the Parliament², which met in *November 1641* in the Castle of *Dublin* in order to put a stop to this Rebellion, after both Houses had unanimously agreed upon a most Dutiful and Loyal Resolution, wherein they set forth their utter abhorrence and detestation of it, and their solemn Protestation, that, if necessary, they would take up Arms, and with their Lives and Fortunes endeavour to suppress it.

Prot. A prodigious instance this of *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical* proceedings! that the Lords Justices, in whom alone the power of such an Act was by Law lodged, should take upon them to *prorogue* the Parliament, not dissolve it; for that was not done. But I must make a few Remarks upon what

what you say. I find you take it for granted (as you have all along done) that the Parliament was all, or a great Majority of it, composed of Papists, and so would have them only shew their Loyalty by a Protestation. This was the same Parliament that met in 1639, and I shewed you before ^u, that a great Majority of it were Protestants, which ^u p. 97: Majority was now increased by many of the Northern Members being in the Rebellion; so that some of the Merit of this Loyal protestation must be subtracted from the Papists, and perhaps all of it ought. Let us see what the conduct of the infected part of the House of Commons was, and this I will give you from the same Author ^w, from whom you ^w Borl. have taken your Protestation. “ Now because more Peo- Hist.p.32.
 “ ple flocked to the City, and that the Lords Justices and
 “ Council had frequent intelligence from several Parts of
 “ the insolent proceedings of the Rebels against the *British*
 “ Protestants in the *borders of the Pale*, as well as the adja-
 “ cent Counties, on the 11th of *November* they by Procla-
 “ mation ^x prohibited the access of unnecessary Persons, not ^x Ib.App:3
 “ any way restraining such, as by their Quality or Business ⁴
 “ gave no grounds of exception. However there were some
 “ (venomed with the vigilancy of the State) who endea-
 “ voured to cast a blemish on this Proclamation, though it
 “ appeared to be his Majesty’s Sense in his Letters of *De-*
 “ *cember* following. Yet on the 16th of *November* the Par-
 “ liament freely met according to the Adjournment, Mr.
 “ *Darcy*, Mr. *Bourke*, and other active Members of the
 “ Commons having exceedingly importuned the same ^u ur-
 “ ging, that the deferring thereof would be an injury to the
 “ whole Nation, as hindering them from expressing their
 “ Loyal Affections to his Majesty, and shewing their de-
 “ sires, to quell this dangerous Rebellion, with all engag-
 “ ing, that in their Meeting there should be a clear pro-
 “ testation against the Rebels; else, for fear there should
 “ have been some prejudice to the State by the concourse
 “ of People at that time, the Lords Justices were once re-
 “ solved (having power from the King so to do) by a Pro-
 “ clamation of the 27th of *October* to have deferred the
 “ Parliament to the 24th of *February* following for se-
 “ veral Causes therein mentioned, but especially, for that
 “ his Majesty desired the Lord Lieutenant should be there:
 “ And by another Proclamation of the same date the Lords
 “ Justices and Council had adjourned *Michaelmas* Term,
 “ to avoid in that exigency these great and manifold Perils

“ *and Dangers, that might have ensued to the State by such*
 “ *concourse of People out of all parts of the Kingdom unto*
 “ *the City of Dublin, as the holding of the term would neces-*
 “ *sarily require, by reason of the late most disloyal and detes-*
 “ *table Conspiracy plotted by a multitude of evil affected meer*
 “ *Irish Papists.*”

You see here, Sir, the best reason in the World for Ad-
 journing the Terms; the same extends to evacuating the
 City of unnecessary Persons, and much more to proroguing
 the Parliament, namely, lest by such a concourse of People,
 the State, which had just escaped an imminent Danger,
 should be again exposed to the like, or a greater. Yet at
 the Instance of those Members (whether pressed out of sin-
 cere Affections to Peace or otherwise, I shall not now dis-
 pute) the Parliament met, and we shall from the same

✓ *Ib. p. 33.* Writer & see, how they conducted themselves in it.

“ It was visible, says he, that more were tainted with
 “ the Infection, than appeared in Rebellion. Lord! What
 “ Artifice? What Cunning? What Varnish was put on
 “ all the Rebel’s Actions and Cruelties? Those, who see-
 “ med to be most affected with the Insurrection, covered
 “ it with such a Vail, treated of it so nicely, with such a
 “ tenderness, as if they themselves, *being all indeed of the*
 “ *Conspiracy, had been to partake immediately of the pun-*
 “ *ishment, as well as they were clandestinely involved in the*
 “ *Plot, by always contesting, that they might not be cal-*
 “ *led Traitors and Rebels, being privy to what themselves*
 “ *had formerly with those Rebels contrived to be done; and*
 “ the appellation of *discontented Gentlemen* was the worst
 “ that could be wrung from them; till one [I wish for
 “ his Honour I could perpetuate his Name] heartily detest-
 “ ing the Fig Leaves thrown over this Nakedness, addres-
 “ sed himself to the Speaker in these Words. *Though I have*
 “ *not arrived at that consistency of Years, as that my Words*
 “ *might challenge here an Audience, Days should speak, and*
 “ *multitude of Years should teach Wisdom, Yet I cannot*
 “ *but observe many passages in this Assembly too like Cata-*
 “ *line’s in the Senate; and therefore I move, that it might*
 “ *not be told in this House, or published in Askelon, that so*
 “ *general a Revolt, accompanied with such horrid and barba-*
 “ *rous Circumstances, should be took notice of with a more*
 “ *favourable expression than Treason and Rebellion. I do not*
 “ *know but that this is the Season wherein we are cast on*
 “ *our Trial, whether Allegiance or Rebellion, God or the*
 “ *Pope*

“ *Pope, were to be owned. And that as to any thing that*
 “ *might soften the Rebels, I conceive they are hardened with*
 “ *so much Villainy, that they esteem all things justifiable, that*
 “ *are attainable, Iram atque Animos a crimine Sumunt ;*
 “ *and therefore it is fit that this House should act as sen-*
 “ *sible of the Rebel's cruelties, and trust God to vindicate his*
 “ *and his People's Cause.*”

I would now ask you, whether this transaction of the Government may be properly stiled an *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical* proceeding, or an *Action* of meer human precaution and Wisdom? You see here, that the Popish Members of Parliament were clandestinely involved in the Conspiracy, and that horrid and barbarous circumstances of cruelty were committed before the 23d of *December 1641*, on which you would have the World believe the first Massacres were committed.

Pap. The Parliament at this Meeting², though surroun-² Dial. p.
 ded with Armed Men, was suffered to sit but two Days². 37. notes.
 which circumstance you will not think so favourably of, as² Temp.
 of the Meeting itself. p. 128.

Prot. Indeed I think it an *Action* of Prudence and Wisdom, considering the circumstances of the times. You take Sir *John Temple* for your Authority, and I shall be contented with the same. “ The Parliament (says he) was held
 “ in the usual Place, the Castle of *Dublin*, and for the bet-
 “ ter security of the place, as well as of the Persons of those
 “ who were to meet, there was a Guard of Musqueteers
 “ appointed to attend during the time of their Meeting ;
 “ but such care was taken, that they should carry so free
 “ from giving any Offence, as no manner of Umbrage
 “ might be taken at their Attendance there.”

You may consider, Sir, that this Castle, in which were the principal Magazines of the Kingdom, was the great Prize intended to be taken by the Rebels a few Days before. Could then the Government use any precautions too great to secure the State from the like Attempt, especially, when many of the Parliament were of Loyalty justly to be suspected, and were privy to what themselves had formerly contrived with the Rebels.

Pap. You will give some Attention, perhaps, to the account given by the Lord *Castlehaven* upon this occasion.
 “ This way of proceeding, says his Lordship^b, did not^b Mem. p.
 “ square with the Lord's Justices designs, who were often³⁴
 “ heard to say, that the more there were in Rebellion, the
 “ more

“ *more Land should be forfeited to them* ; and therefore, in
 “ the very height of the business they resolved upon a Pro-
 “ rogation ; which the Parliament understanding, the Lord
 “ Viscount *Costelloe*, and myself, were sent from the Lords
 “ House, and others from the Commons, to the Lords
 “ Justices, to desire the continuance of the Parliament, at
 “ least till the Rebels, then few in Number, were reduced.
 “ But our Address was slighted, and the Parliament the
 “ next Day prorogued, to the great surprize of both Hou-
 “ ses, and the General dislike of all honest and knowing
 “ Men.”

Prot. I pay great Deference to Lord *Castle-haven*, as a Nobleman ; but as a Writer I make no Difference between him and you. I think him at least a suspected Witness ; whether he was at this time tainted with disloyal thoughts, as others of that Assembly were, would be too hardy to assert positively ; but it is certain he soon afterwards joined in the Rebellion. That the Parliament was the next day prorogued is certain ; but I must have it to his Lordship's Word, whether it was so done to the great surprize of both Houses, and the general dislike of all honest and knowing Men, or to a Popish and tainted Party therein. That the Lords Justices were often heard to say, *that the more there were in the Rebellion, the more Land should be forfeited to them*, is a Piece
 ‘ p. 109. of the same Web with that mentioned before by *Peter Walsh*, namely, “ that the Lord Justice *Parsons* declared at a publick Entertainment, that in a Year no Catholick should
 “ be seen in *Ireland*,” and requires no other Answer than what you will find there. The Lord Justice *Parsons* had a very large Estate in *Ireland*, and it is not probable he would choose to have that ravaged and destroyed from the uncertain hopes of his share of Forfeitures. *Borlace* was a despiser of Wealth, *divitiarum contemptor*, as may be seen in *Bisse's* Notes on *John de Bado aureo de Armis* ; so that it could not be Covetousness, or the Hopes of amassing a Fortune, that could incite him to join with his Colleague in such a Declaration.

‘ Dial.
 P. 38.

Pap. Lord *Castlehaven's* Account seems to be confirmed by this ‘, “ that though his Majesty, and both Houses of
 “ Parliament had at the beginning of this Rebellion recom-
 “ mended it to the Lords Justices to bestow his Majesty's
 “ gracious Pardon to *all such*, without Distinction, as should
 “ within a convenient Time return to their Obedience ;
 “ yet these Lords Justices did by their Proclamation publish-
 “ ed

“ ed in *November* 1641, limit such his Majesty's and the
 “ Parliament of *England's* favourable and general Intenti-
 “ ons to the Inhabitants of a few Counties only, viz. *Meath*,
 “ *Westmeath*, *Louth* and *Longford*, provided always they
 “ were no Freeholders; which sort of Men were to be sure
 “ no more criminal than the rest, but because they had Es-
 “ tates to lose.”

Prot. To your Proviso of not granting Pardons to *Free-*
holders, you should have added *Murderers* also; but that
 would not have squared well with your Assertion^c before, P. 122.
 namely, that no *Murders* were committed by the *Irish* Re-
 bels before the 23d of *December* 1641, which Point I have
 fully answered. Lord! Sir, when will you have done with
 Prevarication? This here is not inferior to any you have
 advanced before. But the Proverb suits you, *none are so*
blind, as those who will not see. The Proclamation of
 Pardon published by the Lords Justices was on the first of
November 1641, which^f you might have learned from the^f *Borl.*
 very Place from whence you have advanced the Fact. “ That Hist. p.
 “ none (says *Borlase*) ignorantly involved in so detestable a 30.
 “ guilt, might Suffer, the State yet further to manifest their
 “ Desire of reducing all into a general Obedience (having
 “ never drawn his Majesty's Sword upon Jealousies,
 “ or Presumptions, till the highest Extremities and un-
 “ paralleld Outrages compelled them thereunto) published
 “ the first of *November* a Proclamation, Declaring, that all
 “ in the Counties of *Meath*, *Westmeath*, *Louth* and *Long-*
 “ *ford*, being no *Freeholders*, nor now in Prison, who had
 “ taken any Goods from his Majesty's faithful Subjects, not
 “ having shed Blood in the Action, and came in within ten
 “ Days after this Proclamation, should be received to his
 “ Majesty's Mercy, and no further prosecuted.” The Or-
 der of the Parliament of *England* (for there could be none
 from the King, he being then in *Scotland*) has no date;
 but it could not be passed so early as the first of *November*,
 when the Proclamation of the Lords Justices for a Pardon
 passed. For Mr. *Conolly*, who was sent from *Ireland* with
 the news of the Rebellion, left *Dublin* on the 25th of *Oc-*
taber, and did not arrive in *London* till the last of that Month,
 “ and that Day late in the Evening delivered his Dispatches: *Templ.*
 to the Lord Lieutenant; who the next Morning (*November* P. 43.
 1st) acquainted the Council Board with them; and they the
 same Day laid the Matter before the two Houses: so that
 (as I said) no Order could be made by Parliament till that
 Day at soonest. Now belike, Doctor, those same
 Lords

Lords Justices, whom you would make very bad Governours, were very good Prophets, and could foretell in *Ireland* an Order of the two Houses of the Parliament in *England*, sitting at *Westminster*, the same Day at soonest on which it was made. But the truth is, these very bad Lords Justices, of their own Motion, and inspired only by their own Prudence and Vigilance, and not by virtue of any Order from the King or Parliament, which they could not possibly have received so early, issued the Proclamation mentioned, and they confined it to the four Counties of *Meath*, *Westmeath*, *Louth* and *Longford*, for two Reasons; first, because the Inhabitants of those Counties had not openly and audaciously appeared so early in the Rebellion, nor generally committed such infamous Massacres, as the more northern Rebels, and secondly, to keep the Danger as remote from *Dublin* as possible: And they had two Reasons likewise for excluding *Freeholders* from Pardons, not because they had Estates to lose, as you alledge, but first, that out of the Estates of the more Criminal Reparation might be made to the Sufferers; and secondly, if the inferior People could be drawn off from their Leaders, these latter must submit or fly;—A Policy used by King *William* for the same Cause after his Landing at *Carrickfergus*. But why should the Lords Justices limit the favourable and general Intentions of the King and Parliament to 4 Counties only? I have given you an Answer to this before; because they knew nothing of such Intentions.

Pap. In order to make these excepted *Freeholders* still more desperate, and to deprive them of all hopes of ever afterwards reconciling themselves to the Government these Lords Justices soon after broke the publick Faith with such of them as were near *Dublin*. For, although they had published a Proclamation on the 13th of *December* 1641, commanding some of them (who had been frightened from their Dwellings by a Massacre committed at *Santry*, by the expresse Order of these Lord Justices) to appear before them in *Dublin* on the 18th of the said Month, thereby giving them the Word of the State, that they might then securely and safely repair thither, these Lords Justices, I say, notwithstanding this Proclamation, did on the 15th of the said Month send out Sir *Charles Coote*, with some Forces, to *Clontarfe*, a Village belonging to Mr. *King* (one of the chief of those Gentlemen, to whom the Word of the State had been given) which Forces burned that Village,

1 Dial.
p. 38.

1 Borlase.
Hist. p.
43.

Village, and excellently well, says *Borlase*, quitted the Service enjoined him.

Prot. A naked Relation of these Facts, which you have miserably distorted, will be a full Apology for the State.

On the 3d of *December* the Lords Justices and Council sent a Letter ^{to} the Lords of the *Pale* requiring their Attendance on the 8th, to confer with them upon the State of the Kingdom. But these Lords, having before made a Combination with the *Ulster* Rebels (which the Lords Justices did not then know, or at least dissembled their Knowledge thereof) refused to appear, pretending, “ That they had received certain Advertisement, that Sir “ *Charles Coote*, at the Council Board, had uttered some “ Speeches tending to a Resolution of executing a general “ Massacre upon the Papists, by which they were deterred “ from waiting on their Lordships, not having any Secu- “ rity for their Safeties; but that they rather thought fit “ to stand upon their Guard.” This Answer was dated *December* the 7th, but did not arrive till the 11th, and was signed by seven of the Lords of the *Pale*; the Lords Justices Letter having been addressed to the Lords of the *Pale* only. The Lords Justices and Council, to remove all Jealousies, and to give the Lords of the *Pale* all due Satisfaction, published a Proclamation on the 13th of *December*, declaring, “ That they never heard Sir *Charles Coote*, “ or any other, utter at the Board, or elsewhere, any “ such Speeches, tending to a Resolution of Executing up- “ on those of their Profession, or upon any others, a ge- “ neral Massacre, or any Massacre at all; and that they ne- “ ver intended so to dishonour his Majesty, or the State, or “ wound their own Consciences, by so odious, impious, “ and detestable thing; and, if Proof could be made of “ any such Words spoken by any Person whatsoever, he “ should be severely punished. Therefore, they required “ the said Noblemen to attend them at the Board on the “ 17th of *December*, that they might confer with them, “ and for security they gave them the Word and Assurance “ of the State, that they might come safely to them with- “ out trouble or stay from them, who had no Intention to “ hurt them.” It was manifest by this shifting excuse, that the Lords of the *Pale* had a mind only to palliate their Disloyalty; for now it was plain they were too deeply engaged in the Rebellion to recede.

T

But

But what had this to do with *George King*, or how dot it relate to any Breach of publick Faith with such little Rebels? The Lords Justices required only the *Lords of the Pale* to meet them at the Council Table to consult upon the State of the Kingdom; and *King* was as much out of the case as *Phelim O-Neill*. But let us see what passed in relation to this *George King*, or whether any Promise of the State was engaged to him, or to any of the inferior Rebels at this time.

ibid p.
146.

About the beginning of December 1, soon after the Defeat of his Majesty's Forces at *Julian's-town* upon their March to strengthen the Garrison of *Drogheda*, *Luke Netterville*, second Son to Lord *Netterville*, emboldened by that Misfortune, caused a Proclamation to be made in the Market-place of *Lusk*, requiring all the chief Gentlemen, and other Inhabitants thereabouts, not to fail upon pain of Death presently to repair to *Swords*, 6 Miles from *Dublin*. In a few Days the said *Luke Netterville*, *George Blakeny*, the said *George King*, *John Talbot*, *Richard Golding*, *Thomas* and *Christopher Russel*, *Patrick Caddel*, *William Travers*, *Richard Barnwall*, *Laurence Bealing*, *Hollywood* of *Artain*, and many other Gentlemen met, and gathered great numbers of Men about them, and putting Arms into their Hands, made Provisions for a settled Camp in that Place. The Lords Justices and Council having notice of this unlawful and tumultuous Assembly, and deeply apprehending the mischievous Consequences, that might ensue from it, on the 9th of December sent the following Warrant requiring their persent repair unto them.

“Whereas we have received Information, that *Luke Netterville*, *Blakeny* of *Rickenhore*, *George King*, and other Gentlemen of the County of *Dublin*, with great Numbers of Men, are assembled together at *Swords*, for what intent we know not, but apparently to the terror of the King's Subjects; and although, considering the unseasonableness of this time, chosen for such an Act without our Privy, a construction may be made thereof to their disadvantage; yet being willing to make an indulgent interpretation of their Actions, in regard of the good Opinion we have of the Loyalty of those Gentlemen, who, it seems, are Principals among them, and conceiving there may be some mistaking in that Enterprize, we have chosen the rather hereby to charge the said *Luke Netterville*, *Blakeny*, *King*, and all the Persons there assembled

“ bled, upon their duties of Allegiance, immediately upon
 “ fight hereof to separate, and not to unite any more in that
 “ Manner without direction from us, and that the said
 “ *Netterville, Blakeny, King*, and six other of the princi-
 “ pal Persons of those, who are so assembled at *Swords*, do
 “ repair before us to Morrow Morning at Ten o’Clock,
 “ to shew cause of their Assembling in that Manner, where-
 “ of they may not fail at their Perils.”

Is there here yet any Engagement of the State in their be-
 halves, as you alledge, or any thing else but a Warrant
 to command their Appearance to give an Account of their
 Actions?

Yet they were ^m so far from giving Obedience to the ^m Ibid. p.
 Commands of the Board, that they kept the Messenger in 147.
 restraint a Day and a Night, threatening to hang him, and
 afterwards returned a scornful Answer, signifying to their Lord-
 ships, “ that they were constrained to meet there together
 “ for the safety of their Lives; that they were put in so
 “ great a terror by the rising out of some Horse Troops,
 “ and Foot Companies at *Dublin*, who killed four Catho-
 “ licks for no other reason than that they were such, as
 “ they durst not stay in their Houses, and therefore resol-
 “ ved to continue together, till they were assured by their
 “ Lordships of the safety of their Lives, before they run
 “ the hazard thereof by manifesting their Obedience due to
 “ their Lordships.”

As to their pretence of fear from four Papists being killed,
 the Fact was thus. Information was given to some Officers
 of the Army, that there had been a Robbery newly com-
 mitted by certain Rebels at *Buskin* on one *Smith*, within
 five Miles of *Dublin*; and if a Party of Soldiers might be
 sent forth, the Informer offered to bring them upon the Re-
 bels, and upon other Rebels. who had lately murdered *Der-
 rick Hubart*, a Dutch Merchant, at *Skewries*. Upon which
 two Officers, with 40 Foot, were detached, with Directions
 to fall upon these Rebels, who marched directly to *Santry*,
 and there finding some Strangers, with Weapons lodged in
 suspicious Places, they slew four of them, whom they con-
 ceived to be Criminal Offenders, of whom one, upon fur-
 ther inquiry, was found to be a Protestant.

Upon the Message received from those Gentlemen at
Swords, the Lords Justices published a Proclamation on the
 13th of *December* to satisfy the World of the innocency of
 the State from the guilt of any Man’s Blood; and as to the

four they alledged were killed as Papists, they were such as were found faulty in Rebellious Actions, of whom one was a Protestant; commanding those Gentlemen furthermore upon their Allegiance to separate, and to appear before the State on the 18th of the said Month, to the end they may be fully heard by the State; to which end they *thereby gave them, and every of them, the Word of the State, that they might securely and safely repair thither, without danger of any Trouble or Stay whatsoever.*

Now let us see what Obedience these Gentlemen paid to the Proclamation. Did they separate, according to the Warrant before mentioned? Did they send any Message to the State that they would comply with the Proclamation at the Day appointed? Did they shew any disposition to Obedience? None of those things were done. But they still continued together at *Swords*, increasing their Numbers, and threatening to come down, and encamp at *Clontarffe*, a Village on the Harbour, three Miles from *Dublin*, where some of their Followers had already at low Water seized upon a Barque, and lodged its Loading in *King's House*, to whom the Village belonged. This required a sudden Remedy, lest the Rebels should seize the rest of the Barques in the Harbour, and by bringing the *Wexford* Ships about to join them should block it up, and stop any Relief of Succours from *England* to land there. The Lords Justices, to prevent such a Mischief, directed the following Order to the Earl of *Ormond*, the King's Lieutenant General.

“ Forasmuch as divers of the Inhabitants of *Clontarffe*,
 “ *Raheny*, and *Kilbarrock*, have declared themselves Re-
 “ bels, and having Robbed some of his Majesty's Subjects,
 “ as well at Land as at Sea; which their boldness is Acted
 “ in such manner, as to put Scorns and Affronts upon this
 “ State, they acting such Depredations even before our Fa-
 “ ces, and in our View, as it were in despite of us. It is
 “ therefore ordered, that the Earl of *Ormond* and *Ossory*,
 “ Lieutenant General of the Army, do forthwith send out
 “ a Party of Horse and Foot to fall upon those Rebels at
 “ *Clontarffe*, and thereabouts, who in such disdainful man-
 “ ner stand to outface and dare us, and to endeavour to
 “ cut them off, as well for Punishment, as terror to others,
 “ and to burn and spoil the Rebel's Houses and Goods; and
 “ to prevent the further annoying of the Shipping going
 “ out, and coming in, and lying in Harbour, those Soldiers
 “ are to bring up to the New Crane at *Dublin* such of the
 “ Boats

“ Boats and Vessels now lying there, as they can upon the sudden, and to burn, Spoil, Sink, and make unserviceable all the rest. Given at the Castle of Dublin, December 14th 1641.”

The Earl of Ormond gave present Order to Sir Charles Coote to march out privately with some Forces to *Clontarffe*; which he did without Noise, and meeting no opposition, he only suffered his Men to pillage the Town, whereof they burnt some part, and also part of King's House, in which much of the Goods were found, that had been taken out of the Barque before mentioned.

This, Sir, is the terrible account, that your Fat-headed Colleague hath furnished you with; for I am sure it could not come from a Man of any penetration; and I only blame you for publishing it without Examination. Where is the publick Faith broken? Where was it given, otherwise than to the Persons of the Rebels, assembled at *Swords*, for their repair to the Government, and safe Return? Did they shew any Obedience to the Order? When a safe conduct is given to Rebels, it supposes virtually to contain in it an Abstaining from all hostile Actions till the Day limited for their appearance; otherwise the hands of the State are tied up, and the Rebels left at Liberty to commit what Mischiefs and Depredations they please: And that was the case here by their Followers plundering the Barque, and lodging the booty in King's House, which carries in it a strong presumption, that it was done by his Authority, at least connivance. Did their threatening to come down, and encamp at *Clontarffe* shew, that they accepted of the safe Conduct, or rather that they rejected it, and scorned to give the State an Answer? Let any impartial Man now judge, whether there was any breach of safe Conduct in the Government, or, if the safe Conduct had been accepted, as it was not, whether the State was not justified in punishing intermediate Actions of Hostility between granting the safe Conduct, and the day appointed for their Appearance.

Pap. Sir John Temple himself, though a Member of the Privy Council, which in Conjunction with the Lords Justices commanded the sending out these Forces to *Clontarffe*, does not accuse those Gentlemen, to whom the Word of the State had been given, of having done any thing in that interval contrary to their Allegiance. He alledges indeed, as you Mention, “ that some of their Followers had seized a Barque lying there, and carried away all the Commodities they found”

Dial.

p. 40.

“ found in her, a great Part whereof they had put into Mr. King’s Dwelling House; but he takes no care to tell us the precise time in which this happened, whether before or after the Word of the State had been given to these Gentlemen. But let this Accident have happened when you will, and supposing the Story true (for which however you have only Sir John’s Word, which is that of a Party excusing his own cruel and perfidious Act) will you, or will any Man say, that Gentlemen were to be treated thus barbarously, and contrary to *the publick Faith* given them; because some of their Followers had, in their Absence, committed an Act of Injustice, in which they themselves are not even accused of having had any Part?

Prot. Though I have before made it evident under what Circumstances the *publick Faith* was given to those Rebels, and how they rejected, or at least did not receive it, yet you still continue to harp upon the same String, which will never make good Musick, and nothing will serve you but *breach of Faith, a cruel and perfidious Act*. You want to know, whether the Injury done to the Barque was before or after *the Word of the State* had been given to those Gentlemen. Undoubtedly after, and so, if you had attended to Sir John Temple’s Words, you would have found; consequently it was a breach of the safe Conduct on the Rebel’s side, if it had been actually accepted, as it was not; but instead thereof they sent Parties to *Clontarffe, Finglass, and Santry*, in order to streighten the City. But you challenge Sir John’s Word, as being of the Privy Council, and a Party in this Usage. I tell you, Sir, it is much more probable that he speaks truth, than any Commentator, who comes an hundred Years after to contradict him, without producing any one Evidence to the contrary. You think it strange, that Gentlemen should be so barbarously treated as to have their Houses burnt down, because some of their Followers had in their Absence committed an Act of Injustice, in which they themselves are not even accused of having had any Part. I suppose, Sir, you mean, that the Soldiers ought to have sent about for Evidence to prove the Robbery of the Barque, before they went so rashly to work. But believe me these same Soldiers, *flagrante bello*, are not very nice Casuists. They found the Goods stolen in Mr. King’s House, whom they knew was at *Swords* in the Rebellion, and they had the command of the Government to burn and spoil the Rebels’s Houses and Goods; which they executed only in Part,

Part; and more shame for them. But I fancy I have hit upon a Reason for this lenity of the Soldiers in executing their Commands only in Part. The Encampment of the Rebels was too near them, and their Party too weak to make an effectual Opposition; and therefore thought it more prudential to Retreat with their Work half done, than to run the hazard of an Engagement with Forces so infinitely their Superiors. Their Warrant was to fall upon the Rebels at *Clontarffe* and *thereabouts*, and to burn and spoil their Houses and Goods; but their Strength was not sufficient for such an attempt; and it appears by the Warrant, that the State was of the same Opinion by judging it an Enterprize to be executed on a sudden, the Soldiers being commanded to render all the Vessels unserviceable, that they could not readily bring up to the Crane. You make a terrible noise of this one Act of Hostility committed against the Houses and Goods of Rebels actually in Arms; and yet you palliate, excuse, nay deny, the many infamous Massacres, Plunderings, and Burnings of the Northern Rebels. Is this just?

Pop. I can give you other instances of the Endeavours of the Lords Justices to exasperate the *Irish* Gentlemen more. For they o by their foul Misrepresentations sent into *England* o Dial. of the Actions and Dispositions of the *Irish* were the Cause, p. 41. that both Houses of Parliament there (to whom the King had intrusted the intire Management of the War) had p on p Borl. the 8th of *December* 1641 resolved upon solemn debate, Hist.p.34. that they would never consent to any Toleration of the Popish Religion in *Ireland*.

Prot. I would ask you, Doctor, whether there ever was any Toleration of the Popish Religion in *Ireland* since the Reformation, except in the Days of *Queen Mary*, when the Protestants had a very scanty and precarious Toleration? You must Answer, no; unless by Toleration you mean such a Connivance as they always enjoyed; and if Peace had been now made with them upon the Terms of an absolute Toleration, they would have obtained a glorious reward for their Rebellion. I grant you the Parliament of *England* did enter into such a Resolution upon solemn debate, and you quote Dr. *Borlase* truly for that Purpose; but that they did so upon the foul Misrepresentations sent into *England* of the Actions and Dispositions of the *Irish* is a foul Misrepresentation of that sober Writer; and you, by coupling the whole in one Sentence, would make him the Author of the whole. q Bleed- But you were ashamed to quote *Nicholas French* q as the ing Iphi- Author genia.

Author of this Paragraph; because you knew he would not be believed; and if this your Friend *Nicholas*, or your Friend *Jones*, or *Old Nick* himself, a worthy triplicity, could be prevailed upon for once to speak Truth, they could not with their united Forces misrepresent the *Irish* Rebels, as they shewed themselves at this Time.

Dial p. In a marginal Note you say, that Sir *John Read*, a
42. Scotchman, and one of his Majesty's Servants, preparing to go to *England* to present a Petition of the *Irish* to the King, was stopped by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and sent to the Lords Justices; and, nor concealing what he carried, was by them imprisoned, and soon after put to the Rack. This Story is

Mem. p. told by Lord *Castlehaven*, and I fear there is some truth in
38. it, though misreported a little in the Carriage. If Sir *John Read* was the King's Servant, as Lord *Castlehaven* says (which is not worth examining) he was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Rebel's Army before *Drogheda*, and the naked

Answ. Fact is this. "Three Lords and four Gentlemen joined
 to the Re- " in a Petition in the beginning of *January* 1641, and pre-
 monstr. " tended to send *Read* with it to the King; but though he
 frem " pressed to be dispatched, yet they delayed it three Months,
 Trim. " expecting the Success of the Siege; which proving un-
 Article. 9. " fortunate to them, *Read* was taken Prisoner, and was,
 " not without Precedent, racked for the discovery of things
 " so highly conducing to the safety of a Kingdom." Do not
 mistake me, Sir, as if I set myself up for an Advocate of so
 cruel an Action, which I condemn as much as you can; and,
 though there were Precedents for it, they were Precedents
 against Law, and cannot be justified, unless the Circum-
 stances of the Times may admit of some Palliation. But
 an Action of this private Nature cannot with Justice be
 alledged as an Argument of a desire in the Government to
 foment the Rebellion, for which you produce it, any more

Dial. p. than one other Instance " you produce to the same purpose
42. can, namely, that the Lord *Dillon* of *Costeloe*, carrying a Remonstrance of the Grievances of the *Irish* to the King, was arrested by order of the Parliament of *England*, and had his Papers rifled; unless you would have us think, that an Action of the Parliament of *England* (to whom the King had transferred the Burden of the *Irish* War) was an Action of the State of *Ireland*, which is absurd. And further, this was done pursuant to a Vote in Parliament of the 3d of *November* before.

Pap.

Pap. Give me leave to proceed to support my Argument.

“ On the 21st. of *March* w 1641, the Lords of the Pale, w Dial, p.
 “ who had been driven by the *rigour* and *passion* of the Lords 42.
 “ Justices to put themselves under the Protection of the Borl. Hist.
 “ Rebels, sent a Letter to the Government by the Earl of p. 66.
 “ *Castlehaven*, humbly setting forth their Grievances, and Castleh.
 “ their Willingness to submit; but they were scornfully and Mem. p.
 “ insultingly rejected by them; and intirely to compleat the 36.
 “ despair of the *Irish*, and to force the very meanest (as they
 “ had before done the better sort) of them into Rebellion
 “ for the Preservation of their lives, these Lords Justices
 “ published a Proclamation on the 10th of *June* 1642, re-
 “ voking all Protections that had been granted by them to
 “ all and every of the poor innoctensive labouring People
 “ within the Baronies of *Castleknock*, *Nethercross*, *Balro-*
 “ *thery*, and *Coalock*, in the County of *Dublin*, and with-
 “ in the Baronies of *Duleek*, *Skryne*, *Moyfenragh*, *Ratoath*,
 “ *Deece*, and *Donboyne*, in the County of *Meath*, on a
 “ Groundless pretence, that many or most of these poor
 “ People had abused their Protections; and then took Oc-
 “ casion (from the cruelties, which their own inhumane
 “ Treatment of them had provoked and exasperated some
 “ of the *Irish* to retaliate on the *English*) to forbid any
 “ Quarter to be given to them; and used all Means to in-
 “ cense the Soldiers against the Nation in general.”

Prot. Here, according to Custom, you have misrep-
 sented these Facts. You have quoted Lord *Castlehaven*, and
Borlase; I will abide by either of their Accounts. Neither
 of them even insinuate what you boldly alledge, namely,
 that the Lords of the Pale had been driven by the *rigour* and
passion of the Lords Justices, to put themselves under the
 Protection of the Rebels. What *Castlehaven* says is this.
 “ I retired to my House, but had not been long at home,
 “ when I received a Letter from the Lords *Gormanstowne*,
 “ *Netterville*, *Slaine*, *Louth*, and *Dunsany*, with one in-
 “ closed to the Lords Justices, which they desired me to
 “ send, and, if possible, to get their Answer. The Letter
 “ was very humble and submissive, desiring only they might
 “ have Permission to send their Petitions into *England*, to
 “ represent their Grievances to the King. I sent it in-
 “ closed to the Lords Justices, who were silent as to theirs,
 “ yet answered mine, though little mine than a Covert, in
 “ which they said, these Lords were Rebels and Traitors,
 “ and advised me to receive no more Letters from them.”

U

Dt.

Dr. *Borlase's* Account is thus. “ After *Droghedah* had
 “ relieved itself, and the King's Forces became full Masters
 “ of the Field, several (as the Lords *Netterville*, *Slaine*, and
 “ others, writ Letters to the State to excuse themselves, as
 “ did those with the Lord *Gormanstowne* about the 21st of
 “ *March* to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, under the Name of
 “ the united Lords, that he would move the State for a
 “ Cessation of Arms, and to know upon what Conditions
 “ they might come in and submit; which the Lords Justices
 “ and Council thought a demand full of insolency, *they*
 “ *having*, till then, *acted with the forwardest of the Rebels*,
 “ notwithstanding whatever Declarations or Encourage-
 “ ments the State gave them to the contrary; so that then
 “ the State *had no Power to mitigate their Crimes*. Nor
 “ did the Lords Justices and Council then think fit to pro-
 “ titute his Majesty's Royal Grace to Men so ungrateful
 “ and unnatural. Besides, the State in their Commission and
 “ Instructions found no express Warrant to pardon such per-
 “ nicious Traitors, as (before they inclined to come in)
 “ hoped to carry all before them by surprizal, or open
 “ Force.”

You see, Sir, now, whether you had Authority to say,
that the Lords of the Pale were driven by the rigour and pas-
sion of the State to put themselves into the Protection of the
Rebels. But it served your turn, and you thought it would
 go down glibly without Examination amongst your Coun-
 trymen. It is manifest, that the Letter mentioned by Lord
Castlehaven, though he puts no date to the Fact, was written
 after the raising of the Siege of *Droghedah*: And *Borlase*
 is express in it, that it was written on the 21st of *March*.
 So that after these Lords had done all the mischief they could,
 and that they found the Game was lost, they grew penitent
 on a sudden, like offending School Boys for fear of the Rod;
 yet were too stomachful to submit absolutely, and wanted
 the Government to propose Conditions, upon which they
 might be received to Mercy. It is not therefore to be won-
 dered at, that the Lords Justices should *scornfully and in-*
sultingly (as you call it) reject their Applications, and which
Borlase says the State looked upon as full of *insolency*, they
 having till then acted with the forwardest of the Rebels.

Now, Sir, as to your Article of revoking Protections;
 this also you have misrepresented. You say, “ that to com-
 “ pleat the despair of the *Irish*, and to force the meanest of
 “ them, as they had before done the better sort into Rebel-
 “ lion,

“ lion, the Lords Justices revoked all Protections granted in
 “ 10 Baronies, which you mention, on a *groundless pre-*
 “ *tence* (say you) that they had abused them.” Who told
 you, that it was upon a *groundless pretence* that those Pro-
 tections were revoked? Lord *Castlehaven* is silent upon this
 Point, and I am sure *Borlase* says no such thing; and yet it
 is from the Authority of this Latter you have taken the Fact.
 But I will set this Matter upon a right foot, namely, the
 Proclamation it self *, “ which reciting the Causes of grant- * *Borlase*
 “ ing such Protections, viz. that the Protectees might sur- App. ix.
 “ nish the Markets with Corn and other Provisions, it pro-
 “ ceeds, that these Protectees not only returned no Fruits
 “ of Loyalty, but have murdered many *English* in several
 “ Parts; it being observed, that if any of his Majesty’s
 “ good Subjects, Soldiers, or others, passed by not strongly
 “ guarded, they were set upon and murdered in the High-
 “ Ways, the very Plowmen, and those that keep Cattle,
 “ having continually Arms lying by them in the Fields to
 “ murder the King’s Subjects, when they found them weak-
 “ ly guarded, and on the other Side, when they found them
 “ strongly guarded, they seemed to go on in their Husbandry,
 “ shewing those Warrants of Protection for their safety &c.”
 And then the Proclamation gives 14 Days respite before the
 Protections were made void in the 10 Baronies mentioned.
 Now can you say, that the pretence was Groundless for re-
 voking those Protections, or that these labouring People were
 innocent and inoffensive. This is patronizing Murders, and
 is as bad as patronizing the Rebellion in general, or affirming,
 that no Massacres were committed on the Protestants by the
Irish before the 23d of *December* 1641, both which you do
 with as much venom as can issue from an ulcerated
 Heart.

From the Lord *Castlehaven* ! you add in a marginal Note, * Mem p.
 “ that Parties were sent out by the Lords Justices and Coun- 37. 38.
 “ cil from *Dublin*, and most Garrisons throughout the
 “ Kingdom to kill and Destroy the Rebels.” [*And was this*
unnatural or unreasonable?] “ But the Officers and Soldiers
 “ took little care to distinguish between Rebels and Subjects;
 “ but killed in many Places promiscuously Men, Women,
 “ and Children; which procedure not only exasperated the
 “ Rebels, and induced them to commit the like Cruelties
 “ upon the *English*, but frightened the Nobility and Gentry
 “ round about; who seeing the harmless Country People,
 “ without respect to Age or Sex, thus barbarously murdered,

“ and themselves openly threatned as favourers of the Rebellion, resolved to stand on their Guard.”

To this I have very little to say. Many wicked Actions are committed by the Soldiery during the course of a Civil War, that are impossible for the wisest, most upright, and most vigilant Government to prevent. But you ought in Justice to lay these Disorders, and many other consequent Mischiefs, to the charge of those Miscreants, who first causelessly raised the Rebellion. And Lord *Castlehaven*, or you, ought to have distinguished the times when these Murders were committed by the Soldiery on the harmless Country People, which manifestly, if ever, was after the 10th of *June* 1642, when the Protections were revoked. Yet his Lordship and you make this Proceedure the Cause of exasperating the Rebels, and inducing them to commit the like Cruelties on the *English*; as if no Massacres were committed before that Date, which is manifestly false; and this procedure you likewise make the cause why the Nobility and Gentry resolved to stand upon their Guard, which (as is seen before) they had done soon after the breaking out of the Rebellion; so that by blending thus Times and Facts you seek to throw dust in the Eyes of the unthinking.

² Dial. p.
44.

Pap. But to put it out of all doubt², that the Government was desirous to continue and foment, - rather than suppress this Rebellion, let me only observe to you, that, when in the Year 1643 the Marquis of *Ormond* had, by the King's command, proposed a Cessation to these Rebels, which they most readily and dutifully submitted unto, all Overtures towards it in the Marquis and his Friends were greatly disliked by the Persons then in Power in that Government, “ and a more unpleasing and unpopular inclination,

² Ir. Reb.
p. 24.

“ says *Clarendon*², could not be discovered in any Man; “ than a wish or consent, that the War (from which so “ many promised *Revenge* and *Fortunes*) should be any other “ way ended, than with the *Blood* and *Confiscation* of all, “ whom they could propose to be guilty of the Defection.”

Prot. I find this Lord *Clarendon*, who a little while ago was a confident and notorious Liar, and much prejudiced against the *Irish*, is now a White Boy with you, just as he serves your Views. You forget nevertheless what his Lordship says a few Lines before, with which I will refresh your Memory, “ Wise Men, says he, knew, who were acquainted with the humour and spirit of that time, the “ universal Prejudice the two Kingdoms of *England* and “ *Scotland*

“ *Scotland* had contracted against the Roman-Catholicks of
 “ *Ireland*, for the Damage they had sustained, and the Ra-
 “ pine and Cruelty, which had been perpetrated by the first
 “ Authors of the Rebellion.” And then he proceeds with
 the Passage you have cited. It is not therefore to be won-
 dered at, that many of the Protestants of *Ireland*, who
 had severely suffered by this Rebellion, should at least be as
 much prejudiced against the Authors of it as those of *England*
 and *Scotland*. Hence it is not strange, that Parties should
 arise in the Council upon the Occasion, as well as among the
 People. But you misrepresent this matter of the Cessation
 a little; the Government was changed before there were any
 thoughts of it, and Sir *Henry Tichborne* was substituted (with
 Sir *John Borlase*) in the room of Sir *William Parsons*, who
 was thought to be too deeply embarked with the Parliament
 of *England*. The new Lords Justices were so far from be-
 ing Enemies to a Cessation, that on the 11th of *May* 1643,
 they candidly gave an Account to the King of the miserable
 condition of the Kingdom, and left it to his Majesty’s Wis-
 dom to provide a Remedy, not indeed directly advising a
 Cessation. They told the King, “ that they could see no
 “ visible Means of being able to preserve for him the King-
 “ dom, and to render deliverance from utter Destruction
 “ to the remnant of his good Subjects yet left there. We
 “ find ourselves [*proceed they*] so disappointed of our Hopes
 “ from the Parliament, as must needs trench to the utter loss
 “ of the Kingdom, if your Majesty in your high Wisdom
 “ do not ordain some present Means of Preservation for us.”
 This was not advising a Cessation or Peace; but they as fully
 laid Matters before his Majesty, as if they had in direct
 terms given such Advice. To the same purpose they
 represent the Conduct of Sir *William Parsons*, while he was
 joined in Commission with Sir *John Borlase*. You misre-
 present the Matter in another particular, by saying, “ that
 “ the Marquis of *Ormond* proposed a Cessation to the Re-
 “ bels, which they most readily and dutifully submitted
 “ unto.” Lord *Clarendon* on the contrary says, that it was
 the Rebels petitioned for a Treaty. “ By these continual
 “ Successes (*i. e.* of *Ormond*) the wild Temper of the *Irish*
 “ began to be abated, and they, who had been carried with
 “ the popular Stream, without any power to resist the
 “ Torrent, had now Opportunity to revolve what they had
 “ done, and the Consequence that must necessarily attend
 “ such Transactions. They thought an humble Address to
 “ him

Borlase
 Hist. p.

122.

“ Him, whom they had offended, to be a more natura-
 “ way to Peace and Happiness, than the Prosecution of the
 “ War, which had been attended with so much Mischief;
 “ and accordingly professed a Desire to be admitted to pe-
 “ tition the King ; in which they found such encourage-
 “ ment, that upon the first Declaration, a Commission was
 “ sent by his Majesty to the Marquis of Ormond, and
 “ others, to receive such Petition, which was no sooner
 “ transmitted to him, than another Commission under the
 “ great Seal of *Ireland* was granted to treat with the *Roman*
 “ *Catholick Irish* in order to a Cessation,” which followed
 in *September* after. You see therefore, Sir, that these
 Lords Justices were not *desirous* and *industrious* to continue
 and foment, rather than to suppress the Rebellion, as you af-
 firm, but they readily granted a Commission to treat as soon
 as the King’s pleasure was signified ; which Commission they
 might have justified to delay, till they remonstrated to the
 King the inconvenience of such a Step, and waited his fur-
 ther Pleasure. You would have this Proposal take its
 motion from the Marquis of Ormond, in order to introduce
 the most ready and dutiful submission of the Irish to it. But
 we shall see this most ready and dutiful submission of the Irish,
 by the high and exorbitant Demands they made on the Tre-
 ty. No body can tell you these better and in fewer Words
 than Lord Clarendon.” “ The Catholics, says he, as
 “ Men who thought themselves possessed of the whole
 “ strength and power of the Kingdom, and the King’s con-
 “ dition in *England* so weak, as he would buy their Assist-
 “ ance at any rate, demanded, upon the matter, the total
 “ alteration of the Government in Church and State ; the
 “ very Form of making and enacting Laws, which is the
 “ Foundation of a Government, and which had been prac-
 “ tised ever since the Reign of *Henry VII.* must be abo-
 “ lished, and instead of Liberty and toleration of the Exer-
 “ cise of the *Romish* Religion, they insisted upon such Pri-
 “ vileges, Immunities, and Power, as would have amounted
 “ at least but to a toleration of the *Protestant* Religion ;
 “ and that no longer than they should think fit to consent
 “ to it.” How submissive, how dutiful these *Irish* Catho-
 licks are ! Upon the whole, considering the great and trea-
 cherous effusion of Blood, shed without Cause in the begin-
 ning of this Rebellion, the seizure and destruction of so
 many Men’s Estates, the great Misery and Desolation there-
 by spread through the whole Kingdom, and the Anguish and
 Sufferings

c Ir. Reb.
 P. 25.

Sufferings of all ranks and degrees of People, it is not to be admired, if some were found, who wished for *Revenge*, and coveted to repair their broken Fortunes, and that this Rebellion should end with the *Blood* and *Confiscation* of all, who were guilty of the *Defection*; and that the *Irish* might be so weakened and humbled, as never to have it in their Power again to begin another Rebellion.

We have now to remark on another of your marginal Notes, by which you think you have gained great Advantage. You say ^d, “that from the beginning of the Rebellion in *Munster* to *August* 1642, the Earl of *Cork* had ^d Dial. p² caused to be forfeited as many Estates of the Lords and Gentlemen of that Province alone, as, says ^e his Lord- ^e Orrery’s ship, were at the beginning of this Insurrection not of so ^e Let. v. 1. little yearly Value as 200000 l. and he calls this *the Work of Works*.” God’s blessing on his Posterity, say I, for *this Work of Works*; by which his Lordship was so great an Instrument of Happiness to that since flourishing Province. For I fancy it was the Means of laying the Foundation of a powerful Plantation and Settlement of Protestants therein; and your Note here shows how general and extensive the Rebellion was, which required so severe a Rod. It is therefore, say you, no wonder, that he died on the Day of the Cessation, &c. by which you would sily insinuate, that his Death was a Judgment from God, for being instrumental in so great Confiscations of the Estates of Rebels. You cover this indeed by giving us a part of the Words of Doctor *Borlase* ^t, which here I offer you at large. “This noble ^f Reduct. Lord died near, if not on, the Day of the Cessation, be- ^f of Irel. p. ing unwilling to survive what he suspected might not be ^f 209. Auspicious to the *English*, or conducive to the end for which it was designed, wherein he prophesied not ill.” So I have helped you out a little here. But pray inform me to what end was this hasty Cessation made? Or what Benefit arose to the King from it?

Pap. It was designed ^g to send over ten thousand of those ^g Dial. p. *Irish*, to the assistance of the King against his Parliament in ^g 45. *England*, who had been for some time before in actual Rebellion against him.

Prot. And was this done? Or was it ever intended? Or was it ever mentioned in the Treaty for the Cessation? Confident I am, that it is not to be found amongst the Articles of it. But to set you right, the real intention of the Treaty was, that the King might have his Hands at liberty to transport

transport some of his Veterane *English* Forces of *Ireland* into *England* to assist him against his Parliament, which was done soon after the conclusion of the Cessation. Here therefore you misrepresent the plain fact in order to introduce the Confidence the King reposed in his *Irish* Rebels.

Pap. I am not sure that any Body of Forces of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland* were sent to the King's Assistance; yet it is plain the King reposed great confidence in these *Irish* Rebels, as I have already proved from his own Words, and from incontestible facts, that their rising in Rebellion was not owing to any disaffection in them to his Majesty, but (as the Examination of *Owen O-Conolly* sets forth) to the Tyrannical Government was over them.

Prot. I wonder you would again obtrude on me those Arguments, which have been so fully baffled before.

Answ. *Pap.* That the King placed a confidence in the Bravery and Loyalty of the late *Irish* Rebels may be evinced from hence, that the *English* Parliament were so Apprehensive, that their coming to his Majesty's Assistance might prove destructive to their Designs against him, that they made an Ordinance ^k on the 24th of *October* 1644 upon the Arrival of some of them in *England* "against giving Quarter to any *Irish* Man, or to any Papist born in *Ireland*, taken in Hostility against the Parliament by Sea or Land." Nay, the King himself, two Years after, endeavoured to Escape from *England* to *Ireland*, in order to put himself into the hands of the *Irish* Papists; because, says his Majesty, *all the rest I see despise Me*; but, to his own and his People's great Misfortune, he was prevented by the Vigilance of the *English* Rebels, who then had him a Prisoner.

^k Borl.
Hist. p.
139.

Prot. What a strange appetite have you to swallow without digesting! And to pervert the most plain Matters of Fact! I shall not call in question the bravery of the *Irish* Rebels. All bodies of Men are equally Brave, and it is Discipline and Experience only that make the difference between Nation and Nation, As to their Loyalty to a Protestant Prince, I have said enough before, and more than you like. It is certain the Parliament were apprehensive, that the King had some design to strengthen himself against them by Aids from his *Irish* Rebels, and not being over fond of the Company of such treacherous *Cut-throats*, they made the Ordinance you mention; but it was not done upon the Arrival of any of those Gentry in *England*, as you confidently, though falsely affirm, no bodies of them having been sent thither

ther after the Cessation. But the Ordinance was made upon an Apprehension, that as his Majesty had commanded over several Regiments of his Veterane *English* Forces from *Ireland*, that he might have been induced to strengthen himself further by the Aids of the *Irish* Rebels: And this, and no other, was the Cause of that Ordinance, which was made ¹¹ Borl. more than six Months after the Arrival of the *English* Veteranes, and after they were defeated and reduced to nothing by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* upon his raising the Siege of *Namptwich*. After these, *English* Veteranes were crumbled to a handful, the Parliament was justly apprehensive, that the King had no resource but in the Aids he might have drawn from the *Irish* Rebels; and you see the Ordinance is against such only, namely, *against giving Quarter to any Irish Man, or to any Papist born in Ireland*; and I have given you the true reason thereof. Perhaps some Volunteers of the *Irish* Rebels might have passed into *England*, and served in his Majesty's Troops; but no formed Regiment ^m, or considerable ^m Borlase Party of them were sent over; but on the contrary they ^{Ib.} shamefully deserted his Majesty's Affairs, even in *Ireland* itself, when their own Interest might have united them in Loyalty and Obedience. I list not to inquire, whether his Majesty, two Years after the said Ordinance, endeavoured to Escape from *England* to *Ireland*, in order to put himself into the Hands of the *Irish* Papists, "because, says his Majesty, I see all the rest despise me." You quote for this passage his Works, without referring to Place or Page. I have turned them over cursorily to find out the Passage, being jealous of your misrepresentations, and I profess I cannot discover any thing like it in King *Charles's* Works. If there be such a passage therein pray point it out either publickly, or privately to me, and I shall not be ashamed to acknowledge my blindness, and retract my Error. If there be not, you must confess yourself an Impostor; and this is a fair knitting of an issue. I believe his Majesty's Condition was so deplorable at that time, that he would have been glad to have taken shelter any where, till his Affairs could have been restored to a posture of opposing the Parliament, to whom he was then a Prisoner. But this doth not prove any Opinion he had of the Loyalty of the *Irish* Rebels.

Now, Sir, you seem to pause, as if you had no more to offer upon this Subject. Yet I must put you in mind of one very material Article; should I grant, which I deny, and have sufficiently proved, that the *Irish* had laboured under

pressures enough to incite them to rise in Arms, yet can you justify the infamous Massacres committed by them? or how can you deny, that they first began that terrible Tragedy?

ⁿ Dial.
p. 47.

Pap. I am far from pretending to justify ⁿ those cruelties perpetrated by some of the Rabble of the *Irish* during this Rebellion; which all the sober and unbiggotted *Roman Catholics*, then among them, and now among us, did, and do sufficiently condemn and abhor. But I must insist upon it, that they neither began that Tragedy, nor committed any Murder at that unhappy juncture, that was not returned upon them at least four fold; Nay more, it will appear upon a fair Inquiry, that whatever Cruelties were committed on the *English* by the *Irish* during this Rebellion were all perpetrated by an *exasperated* and *ungovernable Rabble*, not only without, but absolutely against the consent and command of their Chiefs. Whereas those committed by the *English* on the *Irish* at that time were expressly ordered by Persons, who had a right to command them, and by the Lords Justices themselves.

Prot. These are very strange and bold Assertions, and what the most artful Advocate for the *Irish* cannot make good. I know the extraordinary talents you have at distorting and perverting proofs; and if I do not give a convincing Answer to all you shall, or can alledge, I shall be content to submit, and give up the Cause. But let us reduce what you say to particulars, and then the Answers will be more easily understood, and more Satisfactory.

I am glad to find you in a Disposition not to justify the cruelties of the *Irish* Rebels in 1641, “ which, you say, all “ the sober and *Unbigotted Roman Catholics* both then, and now, did, and do sincerely condemn and abhor.” This would be well, if it were expressed in less dubious terms. That there may be a few *Roman Catholics* unbiggotted is possible; but in my conversation through a long life I must profess to you I have met with very few under that denomination. You should have defined what you mean by Bigotry; for perhaps you and I have different conceptions of that Word. I have more reason than Ordinary to expect a definition of it; because a very curious and learned Critick, bred at the foot of the celebrated *Tillemont*, and of the learned and ingenious Jesuits *Henschenius* and *Papebrochius*, the exact continuators of the judicious and accurate *Bollandus* (which you may see in his *Impartial Examiner*. p. 11. (takes

o p. 426. me to task for stiling in my History o of the Bishops of Ireland

David

David Roth, a learned but bigoted Papist, which says that accurate Critick is a monstrous Paradox. You will easily judge that I mean your Friend Mr. *John Jones*. I would ask you, or that acute Reasoner, whether learning and bigotry may not meet in the same Subject? Undoubtedly they may, and have often done so; yet I will not be so bold to affirm, that they meet in this Friend of yours. I take a Bigot to be a Person, who obstinately and perversely adheres to an Opinion embraced without any solid Foundation; or perhaps the Latin Definition may be more pleasing, namely, *Superstitiosus*, or *Superstitione afflatus*—*A Man inspired with Superstitious Opinions*. Now, Sir, you see there is some little ambiguity in the Word *unbigoted*; which, because I am a plain Man, I was something Jealous of your Assertion, therefore thus explained is no more than this—That all *unsuperstitious Papists*, both then and now, did, and do condemn and abhor such Cruelties. But where are such to be found? Perhaps to look for them would be to hunt after a black Swan. I should pay more Deference to what you say, if the unlucky Decrees of your Councils (of which before) had not occurred to my Memory, and if I did not find in the best *French* Historians, that the execrable butchery at *Paris* of many thousands of naked unsuspecting Protestants had not been celebrated at *Rome* with the greatest Triumphs of publick Rejoicings, and in a Manner consecrated by the Father of your Church.

But you say^r, that the Massacres committed upon this^r Dial, p. 47. 48. Occasion were perpetrated by some of the *Rabble* of the *Irish*, and again, by an *exasperated and ungovernable Rabble*. This would be some Palliation, if it were true; see before^r what Massacres were committed early in the Rebellion, and by whom. Was *Rory Maguire* one of these Rabble? Was *Sir Con Magenis* one of these Rabble? Was Colonel *Bryen O-Neil*, whose inhumane Butcheries about *Down-Patrick* are remarkably Memorable, one of these Rabble? Was *Sir Phelim O-Neil* one of these Rabble? Do you reckon the Captains and Commanders of the Rebels among the Rabble? Yet all these, and many other in Authority and Command, either committed inhumane Massacres themselves, or directed and authorized others to commit them. In short, should I enumerate all the particulars of Murders committed at this time by Men in Authority, I should be obliged to transcribe a good part of 32 large Volumes of Depositions remaining in the College Library, to save which trouble I refer you to them, and if you will not be at that

Pains, others may, to convince themselves of the truth of what I advance.

ib.

" Anfw.
p. 147.

But you add, " that the *Irish* neither began that Tragedy, " nor committed a Murder, that was not retaliated upon " them at least fourfold." If this last particular were truth, I can scarce induce myself to think but that they deserved it. For those who begin the Dance ought to pay the Piper. But it is strange you should assert, that the Protestants began the Tragedy, when I have fully demonstrated before ^t, that the *Papists* committed many inhumane Massacres even on the first Day of the Rebellion, and for many Day after ; and I think you do not contend but that on Account of Pressures and Grievances they began the Rebellion. But, say you " these Tragedies were returned four fold on " them, and ordered by Persons who had a right to command the Authors thereof, and by the Lords Justices themselves ; and in Proof you instance the Massacres at *Santry* and *Clontarffe*." These are answered before ^u to any Man's Satisfaction but yours The Massacre, as you call it, at *Santry* was committed by a Party sent out upon Information that some Rebels, who had committed a Murder, were there lodged, and four were slain, who were found with Arms concealed in suspicious Places. There was not one killed at *Clontarffe*, the Village only being set on Fire to prevent the Rebels from lodging themselves there to the annoyance of the Harbour ; the Inhabitants of which Village had just before seized a Barque, and deposited the Pillage in the House of Mr. *King*, the owner of the Town. Now here, Sir, are your two great Instances of authorized barbarity dwindled into nothing. And if these Facts were granted to be, as you lay them down, they were committed long after the Rebellion broke out, and after the Lords of the *Pale* had joined in it. The Actions of Soldiers, *flagrante bello*, can at the worst be scarce accounted for.

w Dial p.
49.

* Mem. p.
46.

Pap. I will lay before you ^w a more important Instance of authorized barbarity, told us by an eye Witness, which I believe you will scarce justify. It is in the Lord *Castletown*'s Memoirs ^z, in a Letter from his Brother, Colonel *Mervin Touchet*, an Officer employed in the King's Service, there printed at large, reminding his Brother of some passages to furnish out his Memoirs, which his Lordship was then writing. He tells us, " that upon some of the *Irish* Rebels " having killed and wounded some poor *English* in the passage near *Rathcool*, as he was conducting them to *Dublin* " the

“ (the Colonel having before seized some of the chief Com-
 “ manders of that Rabble, and retaken a booty from them)
 “ Sir *Arthur Loftus*, Governour of *Naas*, marched out
 “ with a Party of Horse, which was joined by another Party
 “ sent from *Dublin* by the Marquiss of *Ormond*, and killed
 “ such of the *Irish* as they met. But the most considera-
 “ ble Slaughter, adds the Colonel, was in a great strength
 “ of Furze, seated on a Hill, where the *People of several*
 “ *Villages* taking the Alarm, had sheltered themselves. Now
 “ Sir *Arthur* having invested the Hill, set the Furze on Fire
 “ on all Sides, where the People, being a considerable
 “ Number, were all *burned*, or killed. I saw, says he, the
 “ Bodies and the Furze still burning.”

Prot. I have a right to object to this Witness, as you
 promised at your setting out to produce none but Protestant
 Evidence; and this is, I think, the 4th *Papist* you have
 made use of. But, to oblige you, I will admit him. I must
 observe, that this Letter bears date on the 6th of *July 1683*,
 that is 42 Years after the Fact, and he insinuates himself,
 that he writes upon Memory, which might well have failed
 him in such a compass of Time; and it is plain it did, when
 he tells us of the Dissolution of the Parliament of 1641,
 which was only prorogued, and sat several Years after. But
 should we admit this Story for truth, the Substance of it is
 no more than this; “ that the Rebels were in the neigh-
 bourhood of *Rathcoole* committing mischiefs, and Sir *Arthur*
Loftus punished them, as they deserved: So here is your
 important instance of authorized barbarity, like the former
 Facts alledged by you, dwindled into nothing; nor does
 Colonel *Touchet* pretend, that the Inhabitants of these Vill-
 ages were under Protection; on the contrary he says, “ that
 “ some of the *Irish* Rebels had killed and wounded some
 “ poor *English* in the passage near *Rathcool*, as he (the Co-
 “ lonel) was conducting them to *Dublin*.” Pray, dear
 Doctor, go on to something that may be worth examining;
 for I am tired of Trifles.

Pap. As for the beginning of this Tragedy, it hath been
 ever confidently averred by the *Irish* Papists, nor ever yet, * Dial p.
 that I have heard, disproved by their Adversaries, “ that 50.
 “ the first considerable Massacre on either Side in *Ulster* was
 “ that bloody one, which was committed in one Night in
 “ *November 1641* by the *English* and *Scotch* Forces in
 “ the Island of *Magee*, near *Carriekfergus*, on above 3000
 “ *Catholicks*, Men, Women, and Children, Inhabitants
 “ thereof

“ thereof, all Innocent Persons, and at a Time when none
“ of the Catholicks of that Country had appeared in Arms.”

Prot. I must unmask this wretched Fiction; but preparatory to it, must ask you where you picked it up? For I fancy there must be some mistakes in it.

Pap. You will find it in an Appendix to *Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion*, printed by *H. Wilford* in 1720.

Prot. How comes this Story to have been concealed so long, and to come to light about 80 Years after the Fact supposed to be committed? I am confident that Appendix is not a Collection made by Lord *Clarendon*.

Pap. No, Sir, it is of an antienter Date, and was first
Dial. p. printed in 1660, ² and now reprinted by Mr. *Wilford* in 1720;
48. so that you see it is not a new Invention, but was printed when the Facts were pretty fresh in Memory.

Prot. Ah! Ah! I have found you out now. This Appendix of Mr. *Wilford's* is a *Collection of Murders and Massacres committed on the Irish in Ireland since the 23d of October 1641*, printed for the Author R. S. London 1662, and not 1660, as you in so small a Matter cannot forbear to falsify.

Pap. It is the same; and I ask your Pardon for mistaking the date.

Prot. That this mistake was not without Design I will shew you presently, when I come to unravel the History of that Collection. It matters not much, whether Mr. *Wilford* was a Papist or a Protestant, unless to increase the Number of your Popish Witnesses. No body need be informed, that Booksellers have little Arts to increase the Sale of their Goods; and this was one of *Wilford's*. The Name of Lord *Clarendon* would sell his History among Protestants, and this Collection would give it a full vent among Papists; so that he had the two great Bodies of *England* and *Ireland* to take off his Edition. But it was an impudent thing in him to annex such a lying Collection to an History of so great Reputation. R. S. was certainly a *Papist*, and so he gives us to understand in his *Preface*; and he is, I think, the 5th Witness of that Religion you have produced in Violation of your Engagement. Have not I therefore a right to except to him? And so I do. Yet to clear up the Matter I will give you a short History how this Collection came to be compiled. In 1662 the Settlement of *Ireland* came under the Consideration

tion of the King and Council of *England*. It is not to be questioned, but that the *Irish Papists* were in the secret of the King's and the Duke of York's relapse to Popery, by means of the Jesuit *Peter Talbot*, who had brought about the Perversion of the former^a; and this encouraged them to^a Carte's take all steps to procure as favourable regards in the Settle- Hist. of ment of *Ireland*, as they could reasonably expect either from Ormond, the King's private Inclinations, or the influence of his p. 172. Brother on him. To such End, as a necessary Preparative, Each. p. was this R. S. employed to make this Collection of Murders, 770. to shew, that the *English* were the first Aggressors in the Rebellion, and the first who were guilty of barbarous Massacres; and it had in a good Measure the desired effect, many having been restored to their Estates, who had been deeply involved in the national Guilt. It appears by the Preface to this Collection, that the Relator had his Informations from hearsay and chit chat, namely, *from the Discourses of several* (as he suggests) *disinterested Persons, as well Protestants,* (believe it who will) *as Catholiques.* And again, *that he published that Collection with as much certainty, as upon his best Scrutiny in England he could inform himself* And he concludes his Preface, that he would not retard the Publication of that his Piece at present in *Expectation of further Informations out of Ireland.* Now, Sir, give me leave to ask you one plain Question. Whether it be more rational to give Credit to such Stories picked up twenty Years after the Facts committed from the hearsay or verbal Informations of interested Persons, who thereby hoped for Favours in the Settlement of the Kingdom, or to the Informations of thousands of disinterested People taken upon oaths Presently after the Perpetration of these inhumane Villainies by virtue of Royal Commissions?

Pap. Can any thing be objected to invalidate the first Instance of barbarity given^b by that Collector? Namely, ^{h Dial p.} "that about the beginning of November 1641, the *English* 50. 90. "and *Scotch* Forces in *Knockfergus* murdered in one Night "all the Inhabitants of the territory of the Island of *Ma-* "gee, to the number of above 3000, Men, Women, and "Children, all innocent Persons, in a time when none of "the Catholicks of that Country were in Arms or Rebel- "lion. Note (says the Collector) this was the first Massa- "cre committed in *Ireland* on either Side." This Story is confidently averred by the *Irish Papists*, nor ever yet, that I have heard, disproved by their Adversaries.

Prot.

Prot. I have no doubt of the confidence of these People, nor of yours, in averring any thing, how false or absurd soever, that may help to shelter them from the Villanies justly laid to their charge. This Story, if there be any Truth in it, is misapplied in point of Time, and blended up with a mixture of several notorious Falshoods. Your Collector says, that this Massacre was committed about the beginning of *November*; which may imply many Days before, or many Days after the first of *November*; and his View in this was to lead his incautious, or credulous Reader to believe, that it was committed on the 23^d of *October*, the Day on which the Rebellion broke out, or soon after. You are more modest in applying the Fact in general to the Month of *November*, which is nearer the truth; for it was perpetrated (if at all) in the latter end of that Month, by those who had the Anguish of the preceding Massacres, committed without the least Provocation, on their Relations, Friends, and Countrymen, fresh in their Memories. You and he say, that above 3000 were massacred upon that Occasion: But who can believe that so small a Tongue of Land as the Peninsula of *Magee*, not then cultivated, being about three Miles long, and at a medium not a Mile broad, in which was not one Town, could afford Habitation and Support for above three thousand Inhabitants? He calls it indeed, *the Territory of the Island of Magee*, to deceive his Readers, as if it were a large District of Land, capable of maintaining a numerous Race. “But (says he) these were all innocent Persons, and the Fact was committed when none of the Catholicks of *that Country* were in Arms or Rebellion.” This rests upon his own Evidence, and you have echoed it from him as solemnly, as if you believed it to be as true as the Gospel. I would ask you, were there any Priests among them? If so, they could not be innocent, when their neighbouring Territories were in Flames about them, considering the Dispositions and Influence of those Ecclesiasticks. But (adds he) none of the Catholicks of *that Country* were then in Rebellion. Of what Country? Does he or you mean the Province of *Ulster*? That is false. Or the Counties of *Antrim* and *Down*? That also is false. For in the latter Sir *Con. Magenis* was up in Arms at the head of a numerous Rabble, among whom was the Monk *Crely*, and the former was before that time ravaged by numerous Parties under Sir *Phelim O-Neil*, who had marched down to *Lisburn*

e Ibid. p.
50.

Lisburn, in the County of *Antrim*, near the chief Plantation of the *Scots*, which was at and about *Carrickfergus*. So that belike you would have had the *Scots* waited till these 3000 of their Neighbours from *Magee* had marched down at their backs, and assisted Sir *Phelim* in the execution of his cruel Purposes; of which he had just before given signal Proofs in traces of Blood and Slaughter. But perhaps this Collector means, that none of the Catholics of *that Country*, i. e. of his huge Territory of *Magee*, were in open Rebellion. Let it be so. But know, that in times of general Confusion and Distraction, when the whole Country about was in Flames, it would be difficult to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty Papists; and Jealousies must have been too strong for Reason to controul, or Conscience to plead for Mercy. Nor is it to be wondered at, that the Rage of the Soldiers under such circumstances exceeded Justice, or the Providence of their Commanders. It does not appear, that the Inhabitants of this Peninsula sued for, or obtained Protections, or that they offered Securities for their peaceable Demeanor. To close all, your Collector gives a *nota bene*, that this was the first Massacre committed in Ireland on either Side. This is monstrously false, and what neither he, nor you, assisted by your Paradox-Monger *Jones*, can ever support. For a proof of Massacres committed by the *Irish* on the 23d of *October* 1641, and for several Days after, I must, to save time and repetition, refer you back to what is fully taken notice of before^d, which^d *Answ. p.* will also clear the Aspersions you have cast on Doctor *Bor-* 123, &c. lase, and your humble Servant, as the industrious revivers and improvers of all the exploded Calumnies that were ever heaped on the *Irish* Papists on this occasion; and that we do not deny the matter of Fact, but excuse it by affirming, “ that it was not the first Massacre committed on either Side, “ but that it was done in revenge for many Murders, that “ were before committed by the *Irish* on the *Scotch* in the “ North.” We neither of us deny nor own the Fact; because we love truth (but refer to *R. S.*) and have given a just Apology for it, as will appear by the Pages referred to. But how have the Calumnies heaped on the *Irish* relating to their Cruelties been exploded, and by whom? By none but you, and those of your Stamp, and that without Proof. Should I shew you, that this same Collector of yours hath given the Lie flatly to himself, I suppose you
Y will

will not then be very fond of his Evidence; and this I will undertake to do from his own Words.

Pap. Ay! that will be something indeed.

Prot. Hear first what I say, and then condemn or approve according to its Weight. To make the greater glare at his first setting out he observes, that the Massacres in the Island of *Magee* were the first committed in *Ireland* on either side, which he says was about the beginning of *November*. Yet in his Account given of Murders in the County of *Wicklow* he says, "that in *October* 1641 three Women, whereof one "Gentlewoman big with Child, and a Boy, were hanged "on the Bridge of *Newragh* by the command of Sir *Charles* "Coot, in his first March to that County, who caused his "Guide to blow into his Pistol and so shot him dead. He "also hanged a poor Butcher on the same March called "Thomas Mac-William." And again, in his account of Murders in the County of *Tipperary*, "that on the 24th of "October 1641 one *Browne* and Capt. *Peasly* murdered eleven Men, Women, and Children, in their Houses at *Golden-Bridge*, before any of the Catholics took up Arms in that County. That about the same time the said Captain *Peasly* going through *Cloneulty*, *Philip Ryan*, a peaceable Gentleman, and Owner of the Town, came out of his House to salute the Captain; who pulled out his Pistol, and shot the poor harmless Gentleman dead at his own Door." And he then adds another *nota bene*, "that these two Murders occasioned the rising of the Gentry and Inhabitants of that County."

Now, Sir, what think you of this contradictory Evidence? Is the Month of *October* before the Month of *November*, in which last he says the first Murders were committed on either Side, and yet here produces Instances of Murders in the former Month? Is he to be received as a Witness? Or will you not condemn him yourself?

Pap. I cannot but confess he hath shamefully contradicted himself in these Instances.

Prot. And you as shamefully produce him without any Examination. You ought to blush at this Procedure.

Pap. Though he hath tripped in some minute Matters, yet the main Facts of his Evidence ought not to be rejected by wholesale.

Prot. Yes, Sir, it ought to be rejected by wholesale. Figure to yourself, that such a Witness was produced before an impartial Jury; would they have believed one Word of

his Evidence ? Or would they not have judged him guilty in the whole of what the Civilians call *Crimen falsi*, and we *Perjury*, an Offence so hideous, that it is usually excepted out of general Acts of Grace ? Would not the Judges have directed him to be tried, and sentenced him to what he deserved, the Pillory ? And I fear those who produced him, would be looked upon as no better than Suborners, and subjected to the same punishment.

Yet, Sir, not to discontent you intirely, before I dismiss this Collection of Murders contained in your Appendix, No. IV., I shall make a few Observations thereon, as well as on the preparatory Matter thereto. Dial. p. 87. &c.

I. In your preparatory Matter, you desire your Reader to remark the first Article in the Collection, which is that of the Murders in the Island of *Magee*, on which I have made some Observations already in the immediately preceding Pages, and have shewn how little credit is to be given to that Account, and the inconsistencies of the Relator.

II. In the same preparatory Matter you cite the 9th and 10th Acts of the general Congregation of the *Roman Catholics* held at *Kilkenny* of the 10th, 11th, and 13th of *May* 1642, concerning Directions for taking accounts of Murders, Burnings, and other Cruelties, committed by the *Puritan Enemies* on the *Papists*, &c. That is, in other Words, the *Papists* began the Massacres on the 23d of *October* 1641, and when by the Forces sent out of *England* the *Protestants* were able to lift up their Heads, and obtained power to retaliate some of the Injuries committed by the *Papists*, which was very sparingly, if at all, returned, except in fair War, then these poor Souls cry out at the Mischiefs, and must have Registers kept of what *Papists* were slain, which they would reserve for an After-reckoning, in case Affairs did not succeed to their Wishes, of which, it seems, they began so early to doubt. In like manner, through many parts of your Dialogue you complain heavily of Persecution ; yet, turn the tables, and tell me, who are so great Persecutors as your Sect when in power.

III. You boldly advance, “ that this Collector’s frequent, “ candid, and publick Appeals to things openly transacted, “ and to Enemies themselves (of whom you cite Sir *Audley Mervin*, and Sir *Robert Hannab*,) is a strong proof, that “ what he relates is real Matter of Fact ; and that there is “ yet a stronger inducement to think it so, because it has “ never yet been proved, nor attempted to be proved to be

“ otherwise.” You have seen, Sir, before how candid this
 Appealer of yours has been? and what weight is to be laid
 upon his Evidence? Does his publick Appeal to Sir *Audley*
Mervin, Sir *Robert Hannah*, or others, prove the facts to
 be true? Or does it not rather demonstrate the consummate
 impudence of the Appealer; which quality the *Popish* Party
 never failed in upon any Occasion? If, indeed, he had shew-
 ed, that these Gentlemen appealed to had confessed the mat-
 ter of the Appeal, I should readily have submitted to the E-
 vidence. But that not being done, I am excused, for the
 Reasons aforesaid, from taking his word in the Minuteſt
 Matter. But why did not these Gentlemen, or others, at-
 tempt to prove the contrary? It is a hard matter to prove
 a Negative, and his whole collection contains ſuch a fardle
 of Notorious Lies, that I do not wonder at the ſilence of the
 Age in paſſing them over without Notice. Yet even that
 has not happened. For you may ſee, that Doctor *Borlaſe*
 † has taken him to taſk. What cruelties (ſays the Doctor)
 “ R. S. in his Collection of Murders charges the *English*
 “ with, and by way of recrimination affirms to be acted after
 “ Protection given, and Articles (at this or that place allow-
 “ ed) will be found upon due inquiry to be raiſed on breach of
 “ Faith, and under colour of Protection to act the greateſt
 “ Villainies imaginable; ſome of which being found out,
 “ the Authors were puniſhed, and it may be others (upon
 “ the ſame reaſon only ſuſpected) were Partners in equal
 “ Sufferings. Nor could the State in ſuch a confuſed diſ-
 “ tracted time be juſtly blamed, that ſome irregularities,
 “ how cautiously ſoever looked after, were not in each par-
 “ ticular prevented; ſeeing the rage of the Soldier had ex-
 “ ceeded the juſtice and providence of the State. Beſides,
 “ can it be reaſonable, that thoſe who began and purſued
 “ ſo bloody a Conſpiracy, with ſuch unheard of Aggravati-
 “ ons, ſhould be put in ballance with ſuch, as (only to vin-
 “ dicate his Maſteſty, and his People’s Rights) ſometimes
 “ proceeded beyond their own Temper?—And whereas
 “ this R. S. would free *Kilkenny*, and other places, from
 “ the horrid Actions, which were committed there, the
 “ teſtimony of ſuch as avow them, makes whatever he
 “ would extenuate as to them, and aggravate as to others,
 “ meerly fabulous and vain; though, to make up his fardle,
 “ he takes in whatſoever *Cromwell*, and his Party commit-
 “ ted afterwards in *Ireland*; thus confounding Actions with
 “ times, an Artifice ſo ſhaped to his humour, as who is he
 “ who

† Hiſt.
 P. 58.

“ who cannot see, but that those Actions of *Cromwell's* no,
 “ whit concerned the *British*, or could be any encourage-
 “ ment for what the *Irish* did long before ; *Cromwell's* pro-
 “ ceedings being on a ground well known, extending to the
 “ *English*, as well as to the *Irish*.—*Indeed his whole Piece is*
 “ *such a Web, as, unravelled, would be found meer ficti-*
 “ *ons and imposture,* after what is accounted for breach of
 “ Protection, forfeiture of Articles, Treachery, and the
 “ like. That which he writes of the *Scotch Forces* in *Knock-*
 “ *fergus* murdering (if you will believe him) 3000 Inno-
 “ cent Persons in the beginning of *November* to be the first
 “ Massacre in *Ireland* on either side, is so false, as he that
 “ will read *John Carmick's* Testimony at the trial of *Hugh*
 “ *Oge Mac-Mahon* on the 18th of *November* 1644, attested
 “ by *Sir William Cole*, *Sir William Hamilton*, *Sir Arthur*
 “ *Loftus*, *Sir Charles Coot*, and others, upon Oath, (be-
 “ sides what the Clergy's Remonstrance clears) will plainly
 “ perceive the Vanity and falleness of that Assertion, as (a-
 “ mongst other papers) appears by *John Kerdiff*, Rector
 “ of *Diserteraugh* in *Tyrone*, a Person of known integrity,
 “ who deposeth, that the very first Day *Mr. Mader*, Mi-
 “ nister of the Parish of *Donoghmore*, was murdered by the
 “ *Donnellies*, and within a while after *Mr. New*, Curate
 “ to *Mr. Bradley*, of the Church of *Ardtra*, as *Mr. Blyth*,
 “ with eight more, not to say any thing of *Rourie Ma-*
 “ *guires* dealing with *Mr. Middleton* the 24th of *October*
 “ at *Castle Skeagh*, alias *Ballybalfure*, where (after he had
 “ by treachery got into the Castle, seized on his Money,
 “ burnt the publick Records, and compelled him to ack-
 “ nowledge the Mass) he caused him, his Wife and Chil-
 “ dren, to be hanged, besides an hundred to be murdered
 “ at least in that Town, and thence daily proceeded in such
 “ Outrages.” I am against my will driven to tautology
 by your bringing on the same Subject under so many dif-
 ferent disguises.

IV. This Collection of R. S. consist of about 153 Arti-
 cles, few more or less, of which 58 were in *Cromwell's* Ad-
 ministration, when *Protestants* of the King's Party, and *Pa-*
pists, were involved in equal Ruin; and for these instances I am
 under no necessity of making an Apology. *Cromwell*, though
 a bitter, was a generous Enemy ; and, were it to the pur-
 pose to examine into particulars, I am confident, all or most
 of these Murders would be found to be either executions in
 just War, or against Spies, or for breaches of Protection,
 or

Ans.
P. 154.

or the like. As to the remaining 95 Articles, they are blended up partly of Murders, confessed by the Collector to be committed by Papists on Protestants, (of which at *Moyn* in the County of *Mayo* were 27, a Minister and one other in the County of *Galway*, 30 at *Shruel*, and 5 in the County of *Roscommon*) and partly after the 10th of *June* 1642, when the Proclamation for revoking protections issued, which was done on account of notorious breaches thereof, as may be seen before. So that, if time would permit minutely to examine this Collection of Murders, it would dwindle into a meer Skeleton without Flesh or Sinews; and most, if not all, of the instances furnished would be found (as is observed of the Articles of *Cromwell*) to be either against Spys for Violations of Protections, in just War, or for just Revenge for Murders freshly before committed on Protestants. To increase the Number, your Collector gives the Instances of those Murders committed at *Santry* and *Clontarffe*, to which you have before received an Answer; and so I have done with your Collection and Collector, which hath taken up more time than it or he deserves.

Ans.
P. 147.

Dial.
P. 52.

Pap. Though the Clamour of the *English* has been, and still continues to be, great against the *Irish* on account of those Massacres, yet I will demonstrate to you at one general view, without shocking you or myself by enumerating particular Acts of Cruelty on either side, that the *English* were themselves conscious, that the Cruelties and Massacres perpetrated by them on the *Irish* far surpassed those committed by the *Irish* on them. To this end I shall only observe, that both early in this Rebellion, and soon after it was suppressed, when these transactions were notorious and fresh in every one's Memory, the *English* in power, both in *England* and *Ireland*, several times rejected the Proposals of the *Irish* Chiefs, that there might be a publick and Parliamentary Inquiry made into the Massacres committed on both sides, and that the Authors of them might be punished according to Law. This, I say, the Enemies of the accused *Irish* Papists several times refused to consent unto, though publicly, solemnly, and earnestly challenged thereto by them.

Prot. How, Sir, several times refused?

Pap. Yes, Sir, several times. As first, they refused it, when requested in the Remonstrance of the *Irish* from *Trim* in 1642, presented to the King's Commissioners by the Lord *Gormanstown*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, and others. Secondly, they refused it in 1643, when after the Cessation the *Irish* Agents

at

at *Oxford* laid before his Majesty a Memorial, wherein, after having Petitioned, that a free Parliament might be called in *Ireland*, they add, “ forasmuch as your Majesty’s Catho-
 “ lick Subjects of that Kingdom have been taxed with ma-
 “ ny inhuman Cruelties, *which they never committed*, your
 “ Majesty’s Subjects therefore, for their Vindication, and to
 “ manifest to all the World their desires to have all such
 “ heinous Offences punished, and the Offenders brought to
 “ Justice, do desire, that in the next Parliament all *Noto-*
 “ *rious Murders, breaches of Quarter, and Inhuman Cru-*
 “ *elties*, committed of either side, may be questioned in
 “ the said Parliament, and such as should appear to be guil-
 “ ty, to be excepted out of the Act of Oblivion, and pun-
 “ ished according to their deserts.”

Prot. You are in the right to avoid shocking yourself or me by enumerating particular Acts of Cruelty committed by the *Irish*, to read only which must make Human Nature shudder. As to those committed by the *English* they would stand the test of the closest Examination; and I shall not repeat what is before offered upon that occasion, I grant you, “ that the *Irish Remonstrants* at *Trim* did propose, that a
 “ Parliamentary Inquiry might be made into the Massacres
 “ committed on both sides, and that the Authors thereof
 “ might be punished according to Law.” And I grant you, that this proposal was rejected: But that it was so done from a consciousness of the *English* of their guilt is an unwarrantable conclusion. There are many reasons inducing such a refusal, which ought to be examined, before you draw from it an invidious consequence. The Remonstrants demanded, “ that a new (in their words) a free Parliament
 “ should be chosen * to make that Inquiry, and that *Poynt- * Remon-*
 “ *ing’s* Act might therein be repealed or suspended.” Now *stran. Ar.*
 consider, Sir, what inconveniencies would ensue to his *tic. 13.*
 Majesty, and his Service, by granting these Demands. The greatest Part of the Freeholders were then in actual Rebellion, whereby the King ought to be intitled to all their Estates both Real and Personal, which he could not be but by their Conviction and Attainder, either by course of Common Law, or by Act of Parliament. By the former it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to be effected; for that those who were indicted in most of the Counties of the Kingdom could not be attainted by Outlawry, because the Sheriffs of these Counties, by reason of the Rebellion, could not hold their County Courts to proclaim, and make
 due

due returns of the Exigents. Nor could they be attainted by Verdict for want of Jurors, most of the Freeholders of the Kingdom being in Rebellion. It follows therefore, that these Rebels must either not be attainted at all, or only by Act of Parliament, which could scarce be effected, if the Parliament then in being had been dissolved. Because, upon the Summons of a new Parliament, the Knights and Burgesses must have been elected by the Freeholders and Inhabitants respectively, most whereof were then in open Rebellion.

¹ Borlase
p. 131.

^m Cox.
App. vi.

These Reasons were given ¹ by the Judges, when the Government consulted them about the expediency of dissolving or continuing the Parliament then in being. To clear this Matter further, I will add Part of the Answer ^m to the 13th Article of the *Irish* Remonstrance at *Trim*, which demands such a Parliamentary Inquiry. “ Their desire (says the Answer) to have a new (which they call a free) Parliament, whereunto they may be chosen, hath infinite Inconveniences in it : For then these Criminals will be acquitted, and will manage the most weighty Affairs, and either exclude or outvote the loyal Protestant Subjects, who have stuck by the Crown in this time of Danger. But the truth is, that the Rebels have murdered and banished so many of the Protestant Freeholders, and Inhabitants of Corporations, that there can be very few, if, any Protestants, in a new Parliament at this Time ; whereby it would happen, *that what Protestants are left undevoured by the Sword, should be destroyed by colour of Justice*, pursuant to their Oath of Confederacy. As to *Poyning’s Act*, the Repeal or Suspension of it is desired to deprive the King of the Advice of the Privy Council of *England* and *Ireland*, and, if it were done, perhaps they would without his Majesty’s Knowledge transfer *the spiritual half of his Sovereignty to the Pope*, attain his Protestant Subjects, and establish their *Supreme Council*, and alter the very form of Government : But to be sure they would acquit themselves, and deprive his Majesty of all the Forfeitures belonging to him by their Attainders ; and therefore it is unfit at this time by suspending that Act to make such criminal Parties their own Judges.”

These, Sir, are convincing Reasons, and not the Conscience of the Protestants, why the Proposals of the Remonstrants at *Trim* of submitting the Cruelties on both Sides to a Parliamentary Inquiry, that is to the Inquiry of a new Parliament, could not in common Prudence be accepted ;
and

and the same Reasons extend to the Memorial presented to the King by the *Irish* Agents at *Oxford* in 1643, which you have truly cited, and to which the *Protestant* Agents of *Ireland* made this Answer " We conceive this Proposition of ⁿ Borlase
 " the *Irish* Agents is made but for a flourish ; and if the App^{xii}.
Confederate Papists be so desirous to try their innocency No. 17.
 " (as they pretend) they need not stay for another Parlia-
 " ment in *Ireland*, but submit to that which is now in being,
 " which is an equal and just Parliament, as in some of our
 " Reasons touching that Point is expressed ; and the Offer
 " to draw it to a new Parliament is, in effect, to desire,
 " that they may be their own Judges. For as that Kingdom
 " is now embroiled and wasted, the chief Delinquents, or
 " their Confederates, will be so prevalent a Faction in the
 " next Parliament, that they will be able, and doubtless
 " will clear all the Popish Party how guilty soever, and
 " condemn all the Protestants, how Innocent soever."

Pap. How ° a *Free Parliament* should have a prevailing ° Dial. p.
Faction in it, that would condemn the Innocent, and acquit 55.
 the Guilty, or what other fairer Course could possibly be
 taken by any People to come at the truth of this, or any o-
 ther national Affair, is hard to be conceived. As for the
 Parliament then in being in *Ireland* it was notoriously (like
 that in *England*, with which it was in strict League) a pre-
 vailing Faction against the King, and indeed against all the
Irish demanding this Inquiry, who by Attainders and Out-
 lawries were then intirely excluded from their Seats in both
 Houses.

Prot. The first Part of your Proposition is quibbling instead
 of reasoning, the Answer to which must occur to every Rea-
 der without my Assistance. What denominates a Parlia-
 ment to be *Free* is a freedom in Elections, when the Free-
 holders and Freemen without being awed by an Army, or
 by any external force or influence from the Crown, return
 their Representatives in a due and legal Manner, which was
 done in *Ireland* upon the meeting of this Parliament in 1639,
 so long before the breaking out of the Rebellion ; and the
 freedom of such a Parliament may be taken away by an ex-
 ternal force after their meeting. But such was not the case
 of this Parliament in *Ireland*. That such a *Free* Parlia-
 ment should have a prevailing Faction or Party in it is not at
 all strange, and what I believe you may find in all Parlia-
 ments that ever met since the first existence of such Assemblies.
 You cannot but observe the Struggles always subsisting be-
 Z tween

tween the Court and Country Parties ; and yet from thence to denominate a Parliament *unfree*, or to say, it shall not inquire into this or that Offence, is no good reasoning. To demand of the King a new Parliament, when the humours of the People please, is a high Infringement of his Prerogative, in whom alone the power of summoning Parliaments vests. To say, that the Parliament in being at this juncture would condemn the Innocent, and acquit the Guilty, is a foul mouthed Calumny, and what they never shewed any Disposition to do. To say, that it was notoriously (like the Parliament of *England*, with which it was in strict League) a prevailing Faction against the King, is advanced from your own head, without the least Shadow of Proof ; and therefore to deny it is a full Answer ; and surely, if the King had been jealous of any such thing, he would with one scratch of his Pen have put an end to their existence, he having not made his Parliament of *Ireland* perpetual, as he had done that of *England*. That this Parliament was notoriously Zealous to quell an infamous Rebellion (which you call a prevailing Faction against the *Irish* demanding this inquiry) is undoubtedly true ; and it is as manifest, that great Numbers of the *Irish* Rebels were then intirely and justly excluded from their Seats in both Houses by Attainders and Outlawries. But this was done by due Course of Law, and because they were Rebels. And yet you think, that no fairer Course could possibly be taken to come at the truth of this, or any other national Affair, than to make these attainted Rebels the Judges, whether they themselves were Guilty or Innocent. This is an unaccountable way of reasoning, and what could never enter into the Heart of any Man, who had not shut his Eyes against truth.

† Dial. p. 56. *Pap.* But what excuse can you make † for the Accusers of those *Irish* Papists having so often caused to be rejected the Petitions of those People to his Majesty and Council in *England*, to have these Murders inquired into even after the Restoration ? When the Papists were so far from being a prevailing Faction in the Parliament, which was called on the 8th of May 1661 in *Dublin*, that there was but one † Roman †

† Orrery's Let. v. 1. *Catholick* in each House on the first Day of the Session ; and p. 35. 36. effectually to prevent the coming in of any more, and to † Borlase's turn out even those two, they made an Order in the House Reduct. p. of Lords †, that every Member should receive the Sacrament from the hands of their then Speaker, Primate *Bramhall*, 265.

ball, and another ^s in the lower House to Administer the Oath of Supremacy to all its Members. r Orrery
ibid.

Prot. In all my reading I never met with any offer (such as you Mention) made by the *Irish Papists* after the Restoration, and I am confident there is nothing tending that way in the Journals; and therefore you will Pardon me for saying, that I verily believe this to be an Imposture of your own Brain, or at least picked up from some idle Traditions of your rebellious Countrymen; and I the rather believe so, because you refer to no Authority to support it. When you set me right in this Matter I shall readily acknowledge my Error. R. S. indeed, in the Preface to his Collection of Murders, says, “ that all sober and estated Persons of the *Irish* Nation did desire nothing more than the Punishment of those Murtherers, and it was at their humble Proposals, that all Murtherers were excepted out of the Articles of Peace of 1648.” This, Sir, I much doubt, unless he means all sober and estated Persons, who from the beginning adhered to the King’s Cause, of whom there were some, though in no great Numbers. It is true, in the 18th Article of the Peace of 1648 a Proviso is inserted, “ that such barbarous and inhumane Crimes, as shall be particularized and agreed upon by the Lord Lieutenant, and *Thomas Lord Dillon of Costelloe, the Lords Muskerie and Athunrie, Alexander Mac Donnel Esq; Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Nicholas Plunket, Sir Richard Barnwall, Geoffery Brown, Donogh O-Callaghan, Tirlagh O-Neil, Miles Reilly, and Gerald Fennel Esqs; or any seven or more of them, as to the Actors and Procurers thereof, be left to be tried and adjudged by such indifferent Commissioners, as should be agreed upon by the Lord Lieutenant, and the Persons before mentioned, or any seven or more of them.*” So that here is a Co-ordinate power reserved upon this Occasion between the Lord Lieutenant, and those Commissioners of Trust of the general Assembly of the *Roman Catholicks* in appointing Commissioners to try and adjudge the said Crimes, which ought to have been left to the decisions of the Common Law of the Land to be determined by Juries; But that would have been too dangerous an Experiment. But suppose the Lord Lieutenant and those Commissioners should disagree in their choice of Persons to try the Guilty, as is not impossible, what would become of such Trials? Why, none would have been had, and then the Criminals must,

must pass untried. It does not appear any where, that even so much was agreed to in this Article of Peace at the humble Proposals of the Roman Catholicks, as R. S. boldly Asserts; but more probably it was insisted upon by the King's Representative, when he could not prevail as to the more main Point of having the Criminals tried by Common Law. This Author asserts also, " that the Roman Catholicks desired " *lately* by their Agents to except all Murtherers out of the " Act of Indemnity." This also is gratis dictum by a Man, whose Character for veracity has been seen before.^c What you alledge further is certainly truth, namely, " that the " *Papists* in the Parliament of 1661, were so far from being a prevailing Faction, that on the first Day of the " Session there was but one of them in each House, and " such Orders were made in the two Houses concerning the " Sacrament and Oath of Supremacy, as you Mention, and " this was done to exclude all Non-conforming *Papists* from " sitting therein." Yet you cannot complain that this was done against Law; and all impartial People must think it was full time to exclude those from power, or any share in the Legislature, who had lately made such an ill use of the many Indulgencies afforded them. Yet nothing was done in this Parliament to fix the Imputation of these Massacres upon the *Irish*. For I do not find that any such Matter was then brought before them.

^c Answ.

p. 166. &c.

ⁱ Dial. p.
57.

Pap. It was done with that viewⁱ, and with another more profitable one, which they knew would result from it.

Prot. Explain what you mean; for I do not understand you.

Pap. The business of that Parliament, at least his Majesty's intention in calling it, was the Settlement of *Ireland*; in order to which it was proposed, that such of the *Irish Papists*, who had come in upon the Peace of 1648, should be restored to their Estates, as to his Majesty and that Parliament seemed worthy of that Favour; out of which Number those in particular were directly and expressly excluded by the *Irish* themselves, who were charged with, and convicted of the committing or encouraging any of those murders. Now those *English*, who by the sole gift of *Cromwell*, and of the Regicide Party, had been for some Years possessed of those Estates of the *Irish* (and of whom both Houses of that Parliament were almost intirely composed) in order effectually to prevent their having such inquiry carried on (which they still earnestly

earnestly desired) in a Parliamentary way, and to put it as much as they could out of their power to wipe off those Calumnies, which they had fixed upon them, and which they then most industriously spread in both Kingdoms, thereby to render them odious in the Opinion of all good Men, and intirely unworthy of his Majesty's Grace and Favour, those *English*, I say, at that juncture sitting in the Parliament of *Ireland*, took the methods before mentioned to exclude them for ever, and all those of their Religion, from their Seats in both Houses; by which means those poor People (whose Loyalty and strict Adherence to his Majesty in his Exile^k *Orrery's* their greatest Enemies have witnessed to) were not only kept *Let.* out of their Estates, but also had the brand of Treason and Murder more deeply imprinted upon them.

Prot. The *Settlement* of *Ireland* was indisputably one of the great Businessies intended by the King in calling this Parliament, though not the only one. You say, "that in order to the *Settlement* it was proposed, that such of the *Irish-Papists*, who had come in upon the Peace of 1648, should be restored to their Estates, as seemed worthy to the King and that Parliament." This, Sir, seems to be advanced without Foundation or Proof. It is true, they had great Hopes of receiving all the Favours they could in any sort lay claim to from the two Royal Popish Brothers; and to this end upon the Restoration they presented to the King a Remonstrance^l of their Loyalty¹ State and Oppression, couched in very strong Terms, and prayed *Tracts v.* in general to be restored to their Estates, with as much *3. p. 616.* Assurance, as if not one individual of them had been faulty in their Allegiance. The impudence of this Remonstrance alarmed the Protestants, and a hearing was appointed by Deputies on both sides, wherein Sir *James Barry*, on the part of the Protestants, represented to the Council-board the horrid Rebellion of *Ireland*, and in lively Colours painted their barbarous and execrable Massacres, of which he had been, in some degree, an Eye-Witness. He insisted, that it was most agreeable to Law, as well as most equal for the Subject, that the Nocency or Innocency of the *Irish* should be tried by the Common-Law, where every Person would meet with a fair Trial by Juries of their Neighbours; but that a Court of Claims was, like the U-surper's High Court of Justice, Arbitrary and Unlimited. This touched the *Irish* Deputies to the quick; for (conscious of their guilt) most of them being indicted and Outlaw-

ed for Treason, they dispaired upon a fair trial of making any considerable Defence. It was the general Opinion at this time, that, if the law of the Land had been made the Arbiter of Right, few of the *Irish* had been restored to their Estates; because there were but few who had not been concerned in the Rebellion.

In opposition to Sir *James*, Sir *Nicholas Plunket* in a florid Speech set forth “ the Sufferings and Loyalty of the “ *Irish*, the-injustice of being deprived of their Estates; “ and the hard measures they suffered under *Crowwell’s* “ transplantation, and therefore prayed to be restored to “ their Estates and Liberties. Lord *Orrery* on the other “ hand represented the forwardness of the Protestants of *Ire-* “ *land* in restoring his Majesty, who first formed an effectual “ Party in his behalf, and the first who declared for him. He “ therefore conceived, that they deserved some favour, at “ least as much, if not more, than those, who were decla- “ red Enemies by the late King, and were ordered to be “ prosecuted by Fire and Sword.” His Majesty publicly declared this to be Case. Lord *Orrery* then shewed, “ that “ since it was granted, that the merits of the *English* were “ as great as those of the *Irish*, he would convince that “ board, that they were greater. For that the *English* “ fought only for the preservation of their Lives and Estates “ against those, who would contrary to Law, conscience, “ and right, have robbed them of both. And as to the Loy- “ alty of the *Irish*, that after the Cessation, they not only “ sent no relief to the late King, as they had stipulated to “ do, but by their Rebellion hindered the Protestants from “ doing it, and would have cut off the Marquiss of *Ormond* “ at *Kilkenny*, and actually declared against him,” which the Marquiss testified. Lord *Orrery* then produced three Papers, which *Plunket* and the other Deputies owned to be subscribed by them. 1st. An Order made by the supreme *Irish* Council, wherein they unanimously resolved to prosecute *Ormond*, and his Party, with Fire and Sword. 2dly. An Instrument offering *Ireland* to any foreign Prince, that would take it into Protection. This was after the Peace of 1648. 3dly. A Petition drawn up by the Heads of the *Irish* to the U- surpers about the Transplantation, wherein they acknowledged the supreme Authority to be justly and lawfully lodged in the then Rump Parliament. Having made pertinent remarks on those three Papers, the King publicly declared he was infinitely satisfied, that the *Irish* deserved their Sufferings, and sharply

sharply reproved the Deputies for daring to appear before him with so much guilt upon them, and forbad them for ever his Presence and Court.

Here is a faithful Account of what passed in relation to the *Irish* upon the Restoration; and does any thing in it look like such a proposal as you mention, namely, of excluding those from being restored to their Estates, who were charged with and convicted of committing or encouraging any of those Murders? A proposal so fair could not be rejected, if it had been made. But you insinuate, that the Proposal was, *that those who came in upon the Peace of 1648 should be restored to their Estates.* You should have added, and *Adhered to it*, who were not in very great Numbers, the influence, Intrigues, and Excommunications of the Popish Clergy frightening many from that Allegiance, which was absolutely necessary for their own Safeties in those distracted times. It would be too tedious to enter into the proofs of these particulars, which may be found in the several Appendixes to the *Irish Remonstrance*, written by *Peter Walsh*, an Author of your own Religion. In the Year 1650 the Marquis of *Ormond* was by these Intrigues forced to leave the Kingdom, and Mr. *Beling*, to lessen the guilt of the *Irish*, endeavours to palliate the Matter by saying, “ that they did not force the Lord Lieutenant out of the Kingdom.” But *Frier Ponce* in his Answer to *Beling* scorns such a subterfuge, and, being loth to loose the merit of so glorious an Action, peremptorily affirms, “ that they did expel the Lord Lieutenant, and forced him away, as much as a Man is forced to cast the goods out of a sinking Ship, least he should perish with them. It is true, proceeds he, *Ormond* might have stayed, but no body (*mark that*) would have obeyed him after the Prelate’s Excommunication; and therefore we may truly say we compelled him to go.” Thus do these bigotted Zealots glory in their shame, and yet after all have had the confidence to claim the benefit of the Articles of 1648, which they had thus not only violated, but dissolved.

ciæ ever-
sæ p. 173
sc.

But let us examine a little deeper the conduct of these Claimants to the benefit of the Peace of 1648. *Peter Walsh* says in a Letter to the Marquis of *Ormond*, delivered in *October* 1660, and soon after published, “ that by the Articles of 1648 the Catholics of *Ireland* freely put themselves and their Power into his Lordship’s Hands.” Yet he confesseth, “ that some, after doing so, transgressed in a high

“ high Nature.” This is in part a fair confession of the Transgressions of *some of them*, after their acceding to the Peace of 1648. But how did they *freely* put themselves and their Power into his Lordship’s Hands? By *freely* must be understood *gratis*, that is, without limitation or condition. But here the Peace was made upon Articles, and even upon such Articles, as forced from the King all his Royalties, both ecclesiastical and temporal. You may find these Articles in the Appendix to the *Irish Remonstrance*. In such a Tempest, when the Parliament Forces were ready to overwhelm the Ship, one would have thought, that every good Subject would have *freely* cast his Goods over-board to prevent the common Wreck; yet even the *Irish Papists* would not contribute to stop one Leak, but at a Rate of great disproportion; and as the Leaks increased, so their Rates increased. Now to shew how *freely* the *Irish* submitted to the King, and put their Power into his Hands, I shall refer to the King’s own Words in the Preamble to his Declaration of the 30th of November 1660, recited in the Act of Settlement: “ We
 “ well remember the Cessation, and the Peace, which our
 “ Royal Father had been *forced*, during the late Troubles,
 “ to make with the *Irish* Subjects of that our Kingdom, and
 “ by which he was *compelled* to give them a full Pardon for
 “ what they had before done amiss, upon their return to
 “ their Duty, and their promise of giving his Majesty a
 “ vigorous Assistance. — Nor could we forget the Peace
 “ that ourself was afterwards *necessitated* to make with our
 “ said Subjects, in the time, when they who had wickedly
 “ usurped the Authority in this Kingdom (*England*) had
 “ erected that odious Court for the taking away the Life of
 “ our Father. And then no body can wonder that we were
 “ desirous, though upon *difficult Conditions*, to get such an
 “ united Power of our own Subjects, as might have been
 “ able to have prevented that infamous and horrible Parri-
 “ cide. And therefore we could not but hold ourselves
 “ obliged to perform what we owe by that Peace to those
 “ who had *honestly* and *faithfully* performed what they had
 “ promised to us; though we and they were miserably dis-
 “ appointed of the Effect of those Promises by an *unhappy*
 “ part of them, which *foolishly* forfeited all the Grace,
 “ which they might have expected from us.”

Here, Sir, is a short History both of the Cessation, and of the Peace of 1648, and the conduct of the *Irish* in pursuance of both of them. Whether they *freely* put themselves
 into

into the Lord Lieutenant's hands, you may judge by his Majesty's Words in the above recited Declaration—*forced—compelled—necessitated—difficult Conditions*. Whatever their Submission was in 1648, yet by the express Letter of the Articles^a of that Peace, all Offences are excepted, which^a Article XVIII. should be committed or done after the Date thereof; and that the Act of Oblivion provided to be passed should not extend to any, who did not submit to the said Peace. You see it was made upon *difficult Conditions*; and yet the King thought himself obliged to perform (and so to his Power he did) what he owed to those, who had *honestly* and *faithfully* performed what they had promised; and you see, that both the King and they were *miserably disappointed* of the Effect of those Promises by an *unhappy part* of them, who foolishly forfeited all the Grace, which they might have expected from his Majesty.

Now, Sir, cast your Eyes upon the loyalty and behaviour of those People after the conclusion of the Peace in 1648. 1st. They proceeded^a to a contempt of the King's Authority vested in the Lord Lieutenant, by sending him a Message in April 1650 to *leave the Kingdom*, and commit the Government to one of their own election, in whom they could confide. At the same time that they owned his Authority, they desired him to resign it, without the King's consent, or even knowledge; yet this is but consonant to the whole Series of their Practices, never to acknowledge the King's right, but to affront it, and get their Ends by it. 2^{dly}. They proceeded from contempt to disobedience. For when the Lord Lieutenant refused upon weighty Reasons to conform to the foregoing Message; on the 12th of August following, they, by a publick Declaration professed their disobedience in these Words. "We do hereby manifest to the People, that they are no longer obliged to obey the Orders or Commands of the Marquis of Ormond." This was un-hinging the Government, and in effect declaring their Power paramount to the King's Authority. And they further direct the People, "that in pursuance of the Oath of Association they are to observe such form of Government, as they shall prescribe, or untill it shall be otherwise ordered by a General Assembly, or untill upon Application to the King he shall settle the same otherwise." 3^{dly}. From contempt and disobedience they proceeded to opposition, and Excommunicated all those, who should side with, or adhere to the Marquis of Ormond, by bearing Arms for

him, or his Party, by giving him any Subsidie, Contribution, Monies, or Intelligence." This was wresting the Sceptre out of the King's Hand, and disarming his Lieutenant of all Power to fight or oppose his Majesty's Enemies. For, as much the greater part of the Army under the Lord Lieutenant were Papists, few could be found among them, who were Excommunication-proof. All these Acts of contempt, disobedience, and opposition, may be seen in the Appendix to the *Irish Remonstrance*; and they were not the Acts of private, but of publick Persons, even of such publick Persons, into whose Hands the *Irish Papists* may truly be said to have *gratis* put themselves and their Power.

Pap. These Instances you have given were the Acts of a few, who from motives of Pride, Ambition, Revenge, or Avarice, were actuated to commit the Contempts, Disobediences, and Opposition you have instanced. But it would be hard to exclude those, who were innocent, from the benefit of the Articles of 1648.

Prot. You are in the right; they were the Acts of the Clergy, and of the Clergy only, namely, of the Archbishops, Bishops, and all the Dignitaries of the Secular and Regular Clergy, assembled *proprio motu* at *Jamestown* on the 12th of August 1650, and promulged (as the Title declares) *against the continuance of the King's Authority in the Person of the Marquiss of Ormond*. I agree with you, that it would be hard to involve the Innocent with the Guilty, and to deny the former the benefit of the Articles of 1648; if from the general silence and submission of the greater part of the Body of the *Irish-Layty*, Lords, Gentry, and others, one had not room to conclude, that they gave, in a manner, a general consent to the Instances mentioned, at least subsequent, if not antecedent. For they must be generally either *Consenters* or *Dissenters*. If *Consenters*, they could have no pretence to claim the benefit of the Articles of 1648, which they had so infamously violated; by shaking off the King's Authority, and returning to their first Confederacy. If *Dissenters*, why did they not shew their Affection and Steadiness to the King's cause by punishing the Transgressors, or at least by opposing and disowning the Transgression?

Pap. It is time that we return to the Subject in hand, from which we have considerably rambled.

Prot. You mistake, Sir. The great point you urged was the general Merit of the *Irish*, derived from their constant

stant Loyalty to the King in all the interval from the Peace of 1648 to the Restoration; and this I have oppugned in the manner you have heard. But you say, “ that both Houses “ of the Parliament of 1661 were composed *almost intirely* “ of such *English*, who by the sole Gift of *Cromwell*, and “ the *Regicide Party*, had for some Years been possessed of “ those Estates of the *Irish*. Here, Sir, are some mistakes, perhaps of Ignorance; for I cannot think any Gentleman would knowingly assert a notorious Lie. If you take the pains of looking into the List of that Parliament, (I can furnish you with it) you will find, that very few of the Members of this House of Commons, I verily believe not one in ten, had any relation to the *Regicides*, or to *Cromwell*. The former were excepted out of the Act of Grace, and as such would hardly venture to set up as Candidates for Counties or Barroughs, while their Persons were in danger from these Exceptions. Some few indeed, and those but few, who had Estates granted to them by *Cromwell* in virtue of the Acts of Adventurers, to which King *Charles* the first had given his Assent, were returned to this Parliament; yet were far from being a majority of the House. The House of Lords had no alteration in it; but sat by virtue of the ancient Constitution: Except, that *Popish* Lords, who would not take the Oath of Supremacy according to established Laws, were excluded. That the *Irish* desired an Inquiry to be made in this Parliament after such who had been guilty of Murders and Massacres in the Rebellion of 1641, is, I dare answer for it, impudently alledged; and surely you would have referred to some Proof for this, if any such you had; which not having done, I conclude it is *gratis dictum*, and therefore is answered by denying it. Two good Reasons may be given, why upon the Restoration no inquiry was made after the Perpetrators of those inhuman Villanies. 1st. The King, from motives of Clemency, and out of a just Policy, was unwilling to stir up those Humours, which had just then subsided, and was in hopes, that the two People, Papists and Protestants, would have united together under the equal terms of legal Obedience. 2^{dly}. There was little Subject left to work upon in relation to such Inquiry. For, what from those who fell by the events of War, as well as by Plague, Famine, and Banishment, and from those who had been found guilty and executed by *Cromwell*’s High Court of Justice (being about 200 in number) and from those who had fled from all inquiry, there were few left on whom the

King could wreak his just Vengeance. So that say what you will, *the brand of Treason and Murder will lie deeply imprinted upon their Memories to the end of Time.*

¶ Dial. p.

59.
¶ ib. p. 58

Pap. You have passed over in silence one particular, namely, the Loyalty of those poor *Irish*, who strictly adhered to his Majesty in his Exile, and to which their greatest Enemies have witnessed; who upon the Restoration were kept out of their Estates, and had the same brand remaining imprinted on them, as others who were more guilty.

Prot. Did you never hear of Travellers having recourse to an Oak in a Storm, not out of any kindness to the Tree, but for the sake of shelter to themselves, If you would give yourself the leisure for a Moment to reflect upon the situation of Affairs at the time that these *Loyal Irish* put themselves under the King's Banner in Foreign parts, perhaps you would think with me, that the same was done rather from Necessity, than from a principle of innate Loyalty. I speak of the generality of them; for undoubtedly some who served the King abroad had truly Loyal Intentions. In 1653 the Usurpers declared the War at an end, and the *Irish* intirely subdued. Then followed the *Transplantation* of the more guilty of these People into *Connaught* and *Clare*; where, according to the extenuation of their Crimes, they had more or less Land allotted to them. Others to the Number of 27000 were transported to *Barbadoes*. The hard measures of the Transplantation are set forth before by *Nicholas Plunket* in his Speech to the Council of *England*. Transportation to *Barbadoes* was still infinitely more grievous. What resourse then had the *Irish* (who were not willing to submit to either of these fates) left but to fly to the King's Ensigns in Foreign parts; where it must be confessed they behaved well, and were obedient to all his Majesty's commands. If you will turn over the King's Declaration, and the Acts of Settlement and Explanation made in pursuance thereof, you will find Numbers of them were amply rewarded; so that your Complaint on this head is groundless; except perhaps in a few Instances, which could not be fully and minutely provided for in the settlement of a Kingdom, after so long and obstinate a Rebellion. I will ask you one Question. Whether prior or posterior Obligations or Promises are first to be complied with?

¶ Borlase
p. 315.

¶ Answ. p.
182,

Pap. Priority of Obligation or Promise in reason and Conscience ought to take Place.

Prot. Upon the breaking out of this Rebellion, the King was necessitated to devolve the management of the *Irish* War

War upon the Parliament of *England*, and to pass the Act^t Whitl. p. of Adventurers for the relief of *Ireland*; by which every one 54. who would adventure Money for that Purpose should have so many Acres of the Rebel's Lands, proportionable to the Sums they adventured. This, and other Acts to the like purpose, to all which the King gave his Assent, and consequently engaged his Promise, were long before his Declaration, and must take place of it. So that if any Deficiency happened in the general fund of Forfeitures (as was the Case) it must by your own confession in Reason and Conscience fall upon those, who had the later Promise.

I find, Sir, notwithstanding what has been before said^u upon the subject of the numerous Depositions sworn by virtue of divers Commissions under the great Seal, proving the reality of the Murders committed by the *Irish Papists* on the *English* and *Scottish* Protestants, not only in the beginning, but during the course of the Rebellion, and which nothing but the boldest effrontery can deny; yet you are not satisfied, but are still fond of harping upon the same string. p. 123, 98, &c.

Pap. I have reason, Sir, not easily to quit this point. These Depositions are the very things, to a fair and publick scrutiny whereof the *Irish* Papists so often prest^w and challenged their Enemies; and I must further say, that so honest, and so often repeated a Challenge could not have been declined by those Enemies through any other motive but a consciousness that there was no truth in them.—Besides, the characters of those Authors, who first published them, are such, and the Passages related in them so manifestly incredible, that I am amazed every Protestant of Sense is not ashamed to quote them. Dial. P. 59.

Prot. I have before fully answered these pretended Challenges^x of the *Irish*, to submit to a scrutiny into the Massacres objected to them by the Depositions taken upon that Occasion, and shall not repeat one Word more upon the Subject. But pray, Sir, who are these Authors whose Characters you make so free with? Answ. P. 174, &c.

Pap. The first^y and principal in malice as well as time, were, I think, Sir *John Temple*, and *Dr. Edward Borlase*; of whom the former was a Privy Councillor, and Master of the Rolls in *Ireland* during that Rebellion, and was so much interested in the Condemnation of the *Irish* both in point of Fortune and Character, that that consideration alone is sufficient to invalidate, or at least render suspicious, his own, and every other Testimony he hath brought against them. Dial. P. 60.
And

And as for the latter, Dr. *Nalson* hath passed this severe Censure upon him, “ besides the nearness of his Relation
 “ to one of the Lords Justices (Sir *John Borlase*, whose Son
 “ he was) and his being openly and avowedly a favourer of
 “ the Faction, and of the Men and Actions of those times
 “ (the *English* Rebels) he is an Author of such strange in-
 “ consistencies, that his Book is rather a *Paradox*, than an
 “ History.”

Prot. Surely nothing but passion and prejudice could lead you to this way of thinking! I thought we had always the best chance to meet with truth in an Historian, who writes the History of his own times, and especially one, who being concerned in the actual management of great Affairs, must know the Springs and Motives of what he relates. It is better sure to have recourse to the Fountain head in search of pure Waters, than to seek for them in the muddy Stream. From the account you give of Sir *John Temple* a Stranger would be apt to judge, that he invented all the Depositions he hath given to serve a turn, and to intitle himself to a share in the Spoils of the poor injured *Irish*. But I must tell you, Sir, if he had any such Views, his Zeal was very badly rewarded. For look through the Acts of Settlement and Explanation from the beginning to the end, and you will not find one Grant made to him of any of the forfeited Estates of the *Irish*, or any other provision, than a saving of such Right as he or his Mother had in the Year 1640 to any Lands of the *Bagnal's* in the County of *Carlow* by Mortgage or Lease. Hear what he says himself in the Preface to his incomparable History. “ I shall not entertain the Reader with politi-
 “ cal Maxims, grave Sentences, or flourishing Orations.
 “ That, which I hope will cover over a multitude of Imper-
 “ fections, is the unquestionable Proof of what I shall set
 “ down in a plain and brief Narration of all the Causes and
 “ Proceedings held in the raising, as also in the first Coun-
 “ sels and Undertakings for the suppression of this hideous
 “ Rebellion. And that I might in some measure compass
 “ my design herein, and give satisfaction even to the most
 “ curious Inquisitors after Truth, I did with great care and
 “ diligence turn over the very Originals and Authentical Co-
 “ pies of the voluminous Examinations remaining with the
 “ publick Register, and taken upon Oath by virtue of two
 “ several Commissions issued under the great Seal, to exa-
 “ mine the losses of the *British*, the *Cruelties* and *horrid*
 “ *Murders* committed by the *Irish* in the destruction of
 them.

“ them. I have perused the publick Dispatches, Acts; and
 “ Relations, as likewise the private Letters, and particular
 “ Discourses sent by the chief Gentlemen out of several
 “ Parts of the Kingdom, to present to the Lords Justices
 “ and Council the sad Condition of their Affairs. And hav-
 “ ing been made acquainted with all the most secret Passages
 “ and Councils of the State, I have, as far as I could with-
 “ out breach of Trust, and as the Duty of a Privy Coun-
 “ sellor would admit, communicated so much of them,
 “ as I conceived necessary or proper for publick Informati-
 “ on; and I may confidently avow, that I have been so
 “ curious in gathering up my Materials, and so careful in
 “ putting them together, as very few Passages will be found
 “ here inserted, which have not either fallen within the
 “ Compass of my own Knowledge, or that I have not re-
 “ ceived from those, who were chiefly intrusted in Matters
 “ of Action abroad, or that came not to my hands attested
 “ under the Oaths of credible Witnesses, or clearly asserted
 “ in the voluntary Confessions of the Rebels themselves.”

From such clear Fountains, as are here mentioned, it is
 much more probable we may expect to draw out the truth;
 than from any Muddy Streams of subsequent Detractors,
 who have never scrupled to vend Lies and Calumnies with
 the Intention of varnishing over the foul Actions of their
 Ancestors. In sober truth, I question whether *Herodotus*,
Zenophon, *Thucydides*, or any other famed Name of Anti-
 quity, or whether *Thuanus*, *Camden*, or other more modern
 Historians (unless you will except *Whitlock*) had ever so
 great Opportunities in compiling an unexceptionable Histo-
 ry, as Sir *John Temple* had.

As to Dr. *Edmund Barlase* (not *Edward* as you call him)
 he continued and pursued the same Story down to the Act
 of Settlement in 1662. He was Son to Sir *John Borlase*,
 one of the Lords Justices of *Ireland* in those miserable Times;
 and from thence it may be presumed, that he had great Aids
 from his Father's Papers, and his own Knowledge in the
 Affairs then in Agitation towards compiling his History; to
 which I do not find you make many Objections as to the
 Point of veracity, but complain of the uncouthness and ill
 structure of it; and you are contented in giving Dr. *Nalson*'s
 censure of his Work. But if the censure of a Cotemporary
 or subsequent Historian shall take away all credibility from an
 Author, I fear this Dr. *Nalson* of yours stands upon slippery
 Ground.

* Crit.
Hist v.
2. p. 135.

Ground. For we are told *, “ that he is charged by Monsieur de *Maizeaux* with the grossest falsties, which he “ has proved on him.” And again, “ that he is tedious, “ confused, and vicious, both in *Stile* and *Sentiment*; and “ that about the Time of the Discovery of the Popish Plot “ he was seized and imprisoned for a seditious Libel by Order of the House of Commons.” So, Sir, here is Doctor against Doctor; and perhaps these Things may help to Account for your fondness for Dr. *Nelson*; because he was an Enemy to the true Protestant Religion and Liberty.

* Dial. p.
60.

Now, Sir, I have said all I think necessary in Defence of Sir *John Temple*; and Doctor *Borlase*; I should be glad to know what are the passages * sworn to in these Depositions, which you are pleased to call manifestly incredible, and which every Protestant of Sense should be ashamed to quote?

* Ib. p. 61.

Pap. Not to trouble you or my self * with the recital of many of those horrid falsehoods, which have been Sworn to in these Depositions, as they have been communicated to us, in *Temple's* and *Borlase's* lying and infamous Legends, Can any thing be more ridiculous or incredible; than the following passages, which we find in them, viz.

“ I. That a Proctor to a Minister, although he was diversly wounded, his Belly ript up, and his Entrails taken out, and left above a Yard from him, bled not at all, until he was removed.

“ II. That an Irish Rebel thrust thrice at a young Woman's naked Body with his Sword drawn; and yet never pierced her Skin.

“ III. That hundreds of the Ghosts of the Protestants, that were drowned by the Rebels at *Portnadown* Bridge, were seen wandering about that Place, and heard crying for Revenge.

* Ib. p. 62.

Now pray tell me †, since passages thus manifestly false and incredible have been solemnly Sworn to by pretended eye Witnesses, what are we to think of so many other Affidavits in that History, which are (by far the greater Number) taken on *hearsay* or *private belief* only, and from the lowest and most prejudiced of the people? Some of whom set only their Marks to their Examinations, and consequently swore whatever the Clerks or their Masters were pleased to read to them. But of these Examinations in general the Earl of *Castlehaven* † positively affirms, “ that in them “ hundreds are mentioned that lived many Years after, nay “ some even this Day (1684) alive, and that there were

* Mem. p.
28. 29.

“ not

“ not the 20th part of the Cruelties committed on the
 “ *English* of what is generally reported.” And the Author
 of the Collection of Murders published in 1662 avers as a
 known truth, “ that at the trial of Qualifications at the
 “ Court of Claims at *Athlone* in *Cromwell's* Time, where
 “ the *Black Book*, containing these Examinations, being pro-
 “ duced, the same was so *falsified* in most particulars, as
 “ well by the Witnesses themselves, who were pretended to
 “ have been duly Sworn, as also by the *Persons said to have*
 “ *been murdered*, who were then, and are yet (says that
 “ Author) living, that the said Book was *for shame* laid a-
 “ side, as *no Evidence*; and several Persons, who had taken
 “ Examinations touching these Murders, have frequently
 “ since *acknowledged the falsity of the Matters* published by
 “ them, as being had from the Information of those, who
 “ by the hurry of the times, and their *own frights*, were
 “ so transported, that they Swore *all their Neighbours*,
 “ whom they left behind them, were murdered; whereas
 “ *all or most* of them were afterwards found living.”

Prot. I find, Sir, you cannot have patience, that any
 body should presume to publish *lying* and *infamous Legends*,
 but those of your own stamp, of which you have a surfeit-
 ing Plenty in the Books of your *Irish Saints*. Witness *St.*
Patrick, who restored a Giant to life after he had been an
 hundred Years reduced to Ashes; and *St. Brigid*, who to
 cover the shame of one of her Nuns, who had made a little
 slip, caused her to Miscarry only by stroking her Belly. And
 honest *John Colgan*, a Friar of yours, in his Notes upon
 that passage, Reasons the case through a whole Page; whe-
 ther the Saint was guilty of Murder by this Action, and
 very gravely concludes in the Negative, because it did not
 appear that the *fetus* was animated. Now, Sir, you firmly
 believe those *lying* and *infamous Legends*, and yet cannot
 bear that any Body should attempt to take the Trade out of
 your Hands. But I shall seriously endeavour to Account
 for the three *ridiculous* and *incredible* passages, which you
 have recited.

I. To the first, you a little misrepresent the Fact. For
 you say, the Proctor did not bleed until he was removed:
 But the Examination is, *that he did not bleed until they lift-*
ed him up, and carried him away; which may make some
 alteration in the circumstance of his not bleeding. For, ac-
 cording to the Position he was in, when they dragged out his

B b

Entrails;

Entrails, he might have bled enough inwardly, and yet not much appear outwardly, until they lifted him up. Besides, the Deponent might have been at such a Distance, that by the Interposition of the Rebels he might have been hindered from exactly observing the Fact, and might have taken what he said from the Reports of the Rebels themselves. Something also may be allowed to the fears and terrors he was in.

II. In the second Instance you omit part of the Substance of the Examination. For when the Rebel told the naked young Woman, that he would kill her, unless she discovered her Money, she answered, *you cannot kill me, unless God give you leave, and his Will be done.* From whence one may without violence draw this Consequence, *that as she put herself under the Protection of God only,* she might as well be preserved by his infinite Power, as *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego,* were preserved in the fiery Furnace, who told *Nebuchadnezzar* (much in the same Sense as the young Woman did the Rebel) *that God was able to deliver them, and would deliver them.* But perhaps a ludicrous Answer would please you best. What would you have to say, should I tell you, that this Rebel was a bad Fencer, and the Virgin by great activity eluded his Thrusts? However that may be, I fancy if you had such an Instance of a miraculous Preservation among you, the Father of your Church would ere now have passed his Letters Patent for providing her a Place in Heaven, and your Calendar would be encreased by one red lettered Saint more to pay your Devotions to.

III. The Apparitions at *Portadown* Bridge have been attested by so many Witnesses of Reputation, not Marksmen, partly upon the Evidence of their own Eyes and Ears, and partly by the Confessions of the Rebels themselves, that for my part I cannot be Sceptick enough to doubt of the Veracity of what they swear. To these positive Evidences I will add a part of Dr. *Maxwell's* long Examination. “ That
 “ it was common Table-talk amongst the Rebels, that the
 “ Ghosts of Mr. *William Fullerton, Timothy Jephes,* and
 “ the most of those, who were thrown over *Portadown-*
 “ Bridge, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the
 “ River, sometimes singing of Psalms, sometimes brandishing of naked Swords, and sometimes screeching in a
 “ most hideous and fearful Manner. The Deponent did
 “ did not believe the same at first, and yet is doubtful whether to believe it or not; but saith, that divers of the Re-
 “ bels

“bels assured him, that they themselves did dwell near the
 “said River, and being daily frighted with these Apparitions
 “(but especially with their horrible Screeching) were
 “in Conclusion forced to remove further into the Country.
 “Their own Priests and Friars could not deny the truth
 “thereof; but as oft as it was by the Deponent objected to
 “them, they said, *that it was but a cunning flight of the*
 “*Devil to hinder this great Work of propagating the Catho-*
 “*lick Faith, and killing of Hereticks; or that it was wrought*
 “*by Witchcraft.* This Deponent himself lived within 13
 “Miles of the Bridge and never heard any Man so much as
 “doubt of the truth thereof: Howsoever the Deponent obligeth
 “no Mans Faith, in regard he saw it not with his own
 “Eyes, otherwise, he had as much certainty, as morally
 “could be required of such a Matter.”

Now, Doctor, in this last Instance you have the Evidence
 of Papists themselves, nay of Priests and Friars, reported at
 second hand by a learned and conscientious Divine of the
 Church of *England*. If these things had happened among
 you, Lord! What Exorcisms, what Conjurations, what
 Sprinklings, should we have had to drive out the Evil Spirits
 from those possessed Waters? But it seems your Priests and
 Friars at that time had lost all their power over these Here-
 tick Devils, and could not put a stop to their Sights. But
 here, instead of driving the Devils to Flight by resisting them,
 they were obliged to fly from them further up into the Coun-
 try. I suppose you have no other Instances to give of false
 and incredible Passages sworn to in the Examinations, or
 we should surely have had them.

But, say you, some of these Deponents set only their
 Marks to their Examinations (very true) and consequently
 Swore whatever the Clerks or their Masters were pleased to
 read to them. (Very false, and inconsequential.) I do not
 find any Clerk employed upon the Occasion, and the Com-
 missioners were Men of Fortune and Figure, all I think
 Clergymen, who would scorn such foul and base Frauds.
 What Lord *Castlehaven* says hath but little Weight with
 me, since we have only his bare Word for it, and
 even he confesses, *that there were great cruelties com-*
 “*mitted on the English,* which you have taken care to
 slide over unmentioned. I wonder you are not ashamed
 to produce the Author of the Collection of Murders
 after the baffles he has received already. But to put the
 matter of these Cruelties beyond a possibility of reply, I will

cite you an Author, to whom, perhaps, you will pay some Reverence, namely, *Cnoghor O-Mahony*, an *Irish* Jesuit of *St. Roch* in *Lisbon*, who in 1645 published a Book under the feigned Name of *Constantine Marullus*, intitled, *Disputatio Apologetica et Manifestiva de jure Regni Hiberniæ pro Catholicis Hibernis adversus Hæreticos Anglos*. To which is added, *Exhortatio ad Catholicos Hiberniæ*. His design in writing this Treatise was to excite the *Irish* to persist in their Rebellion, and to continue the Massacre of those Hereticks, the *English*, of whom he confesses they had cut off no fewer than 150000 in 4 Years time. He endeavours to prove, that the Kings of *England* never had any right to *Ireland*, but that their title was meer Usurpation and Tyranny. He produces a Bull of the Pope granted to *Owen Roe O-Neil* in 1642, whereby all the Actors in the bloody Massacre of the foregoing Year are blessed, and plenary Indulgences granted to all who shall assist in the future Advancement of the Catholick Cause against the Hereticks of *England*. He says, that the Old *Irish* may lawfully choose a King of their own *Irish* blood, nay, that they ought in conscience to do it, and throw off the Yoke of Hereticks and Foreigners. He exorts them to extirpate the *English*, their *Manners*, and *Religion* out of the Nation, and to murder and destroy all that favour or adhere to them, or were sprung from them, although they were *Papists*, and their nearest Relations. Here, Sir, is an Author for root and branch Doctrine, a right Son of *Ignatius Loyala*, 150000 already Slain, and an exhortation to Murder and extirpate the rest. I hope you have no Objection to this Holy Jesuit.

a p. 121. *Pap.* You might have spared this Story; because you told it before almost word for word in your *Writers of Ireland*, and have there given no satisfactory Proof of the Quotation; so that I doubt whether it be genuine or not. Did you ever see *Mahony's* Book.

a Exam. p. 32. *Prot.* It is true, Sir, I told it before; but a good Story cannot be too often repeated, especially to such, who are willing to have bad Memories, when the matter makes against themselves. You should have been ashamed to have mentioned this Objection in the very words of your Friend *Jones*. However one Answer will serve you both. You will scarce believe me when I tell you, that I did once, and but once, see *Mahony's* Book, and that for a short time only, and I affirm to you the Quotation is just, believe it or not as you please. What occasions the scarcity of that Piece is, that the

the Supreme Council of the *Irish* at *Kilkenny* were ashamed of the too bold Advances in it, and, as it tended to create a disunion between the *Irish* of Blood and the *Irish* of Birth, they condemned it to the *Flames* in 1648, yet against the will of the *Nuncio*, who saved *John Bane*, Parish priest of *Ath-lone* (upon whom the Book was found) from Punishment, and and would fain have saved the Book from Censure. This event, other Arts of the Popish Clergy since that time, have made the Book scarce. I would add to my own the Authority of Sir *Richard Cox*; but that Heretick will have as little weight with you as my self. But when I tell you, that both he and I inforced our Authorities from a Popish Author, namely, *Peter Walsh*, * you will perhaps give some attention to
 us. * Ir. Rem. P. 387. 667. 737.

Pap. But *Mahony* was a mad crazy Divine; and, as one Swallow maketh not a Summer, so his opinion ought not to be produced to prejudice a whole body of Christians.

Prot. For God's sake, Doctor, have done with this *Jones*, and teize me no longer with such an impertinent Tri-
 fler. These are his very words, and the Sentiments can be none but his. I grant you and him, Sir, that the Opinion of one crazy Divine ought not to be imputed to a whole Society. But when we see the deposing Doctrine of Heretical Princes, and the consequences of it, Rebellion, Blood, and Murder, sanctified by the decrees of General Councils, when we see the eradicating Principles of this *Mahony* supported by *Bellarmino*, and other Ecclesiasticks, as well as by great Numbers of the Jesuits, and do not find them condemned by any Act of a General Council, or by the Church or Court of *Rome*, Protestants cannot but be jealous that some Snake lies hid in the Grass, which will sting, when opportunity presents. I produced *Mahony* only to prove the Fact, and not the Doctrine, and you have led me insensibly into the latter consideration, which I believe I touched before.

And now, Doctor, I fancy we are near a closure. You began your Dialogue by introducing a *Dissenter* and a *Member of the Church of England*, as the Persons of your Drama; and now you introduce the *Dissenter* telling the other, that he had so Zealously pleaded the cause of the *Rebellious Irish* Dial. p. 63.
Papists, that he suspected him not to be so good a *Protestant* at the bottom, as he would have him to be; and truly I am of the same Opinion. Then you introduce your pretended *Churchman* affirming, that he had not advanced a single Fact in the Controversy, which had not the sanction of *Protestant*
Authority,

Authority, to support it; which I have manifestly shewed you in divers parts of the present Dialogue to be false. Your whole Dialogue is so unartfully wove together, that the course Threads appear in every Page of it; and I cannot but conclude in the words of *Phædrus's* Fox, who having by chance chopped upon a Tragick Masque, turned it about to view it, and then cried out, *that whatever beauty it had, there were yet no brains to be found in it.* You after introduce the *Dissenter* telling the *Church-man*, “ that such sentiments as he had expressed of the 41 Rebellion were never yet entertained, and he hoped never would be, by any *Modern Protestant Patriot.*” And I am confident “ this affirmation is just.

“ Ibid. p.
64.

“ *Quæries*
on the Sa-
ceramental
Test.

Pap. To shew you “ how much you are mistaken in that particular, I shall conclude by giving you the Sentiments of one of the best and wisest *Protestant Patriots* on this occasion, that either this, or any other Nation was ever blessed with. “ Granting (says Doctor *Swift* “ *Popery* to have many “ more Errors, than any one branch of the *Sectaries*, let “ us examine the Actions of both, as they each affected the “ Peace of these Kingdoms, with allowance for the short “ time, which the *Sectaries* had to Act in, who are, in a “ manner, but of *Yesterday.* The *Papists* in the time of “ King *James* the 2d. used all endeavours to establish their “ Superstition, wherein they failed by the *United power of* “ *English Church Protestants*, with the Prince of *Orange's* “ Assistance. But it cannot be asserted, that these *bigotted* “ *Papists* had the least design to depose or murder their “ King, much less to abolish Kingly Government; nor “ was it their Interest, or inclination, to attempt either. “ On the other side, the *Puritans*, who had been almost “ from the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign a perpetual thorn in the Church's side, joining with the *Scotch* “ *Enthusiasts*, in the time of King *Charles* the first, were “ the principal cause of the *Irish* Rebellion and Massacre, “ by distressing that Prince, and making it impossible for “ him to send over timely Succours. And after that pious “ Prince had satisfied his Parliament in every single point “ complained of, the same *Sectaries*, by poisoning the minds “ and Affections of the People with the most false and “ wicked Representations of their King, were able, in the “ compass of a few Years, to embroil the three Nations in “ a bloody Rebellion, at the expence of many thousand lives, “ to turn the Kingly power into Anarchy, to murder their “ Prince

“ Prince in the face of the World, and (in their own Stile)
 “ to destroy the Church *root and branch*. The Account
 “ therefore stands thus. The Papists aimed at one pernicious
 “ Act, which was to destroy the *Protestant Religion*,
 “ wherein by God’s Mercy, and the Assistance of our Glorious
 “ King *William*, they absolutely failed. The *Sectaries*
 “ attempted the three most infernal Actions, that could
 “ possibly enter into the Hearts of Men forsaken of God;
 “ which were, the murder of a most pious King, the destruction
 “ of Monarchy, and the extirpation of the Church,
 “ and succeeded in them all.”

Prot. I must answer you in the words of your *Dissenter*, supposing him speaking to your *Protestant* Interlocutor. That nothing can be more dangerous to this Kingdom, than the throwing out such invidious Reflections on any set of *Protestants* in it; whereby that Union, which ought ever to subsist among us, is apt to be destroyed, and that Alarm lessened, which cannot be too great and lively in us, from the Strength and Number of our Common Enemies, the *Papists* in Ireland.

Pap. As to the number of *Papists* in Ireland, the same great Patriot asserts, “ that it is always magnified in proportion to the Zeal or Politicks of the Speaker or Writer; but it is a gross imposition upon common Reason to terrify us with their *Strength*. For *Popery*, under the Circumstances it lies in in this Kingdom, although it be offensive and inconvenient enough [from the consequences it hath to increase the Rapine, Sloth, and Ignorance as well as the poverty of the Natives] is not properly dangerous in that Sense, as some would have us take it; because it is universally hated by every Party of a different Religious Profession. It is the contempt of the Wise, the best topick for *Clamours* of designing Men, but the real terror only of Fools. The Landed *Popish* Interest in England far exceeds that among us, even in proportion to the wealth and extent of each Kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into *Protestant’s* hands by Purchase or Descent; and that affected complaint of counterfeit Converts will fall, with the Cause of it, in half a Generation; unless it be raised, or kept alive, as a continual fund of *Merit* and *Eloquence*. The *Papists* are wholly disarmed. They have neither *Courage*, *Leaders*, *Money*, or *Inclinations* to Rebel. They want every

“ every Advantage, which they formerly possessed, to fol-
 “ low that Trade; and wherein, even with those Advan-
 “ tages, they always miscarried. They appear very *easy*
 “ and *satisfied* under the Connivance, which they enjoyed
 “ during the whole last Reign (*i. e.* Queen *Anne's*) nor ever
 “ scrupled to reproach another Party (*i. e.* the Tory Mini-
 “ stry) under which they pretend to have suffered so much
 “ Severity.”----Nay, Sir, do not knit your Brows so an-
 grily at me. The same Writer, in his Address to the
 Parliament in 1724, declares, “ that the *Papists* in gene-
 “ ral of any Subtance or Estates, and their Priests almost
 “ universally, are what we call Whigs, in the Sense,
 “ which by that Word is generally understood. They feel the
 “ smart, and see the scars of their former Wounds; and very
 “ well know, that they must be made a Sacrifice to the
 “ least attempt towards a change.”

Prot. I can consider these two Quotations of yours in
 no other View, than as a couple of Crutches hastily snatched
 up to help your lame Leg forward to its Journey's end. For
 what has the Actions of the *Sectaries*, or the present strength
 or weakness of the *Papists* to do with the subject of the Re-
 bellion and Massacres of 1641? Yet perhaps you may expect
 a few Animadversions upon what our Patriot has said.

1st. You well know his talents for Satire were extraor-
 dinary, and that he never failed to dip his Pen in Vinegar,
 when it served his Subject. Thus here, how favourably
 does he deal with the *Papists* in order more effectually to
 skin the *Sectaries*, by throwing the two Parties into a Con-
 trast. These latter, says he, were a perpetual thorn in the
 Side of the Church from the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's*
 Reign. Whereas he mentions the Offences of the former
 in the slightest terms, as a People, who endeavoured to esta-
 blish their Superstition in the Reign of King *James* the
 2d. by adhering to that Monarch's Interest. Is this
 dispensing his Favours with an equal Hand? Or would
 it not have been more just and equitable to have shewn, that
 from the beginning of the Reign of the same Queen the *Pa-
 pists* were continually struggling with the Reformation both
 in *England* and *Ireland*, and by Plots, Conspiracies, and
 Rebellions, as well as by Succours from Foreign Princes,
 endeavouring to overset it?

2dly. These *Papists* (says he) failed in their design by the
 United power of *English Church-Protestants*.—It would have
 been more just to have given some share of this Merit to the
Dissenters,

Dissenters, who united with the *Church Protestants* in Favour of the Prince of *Orange*.

3dly. He observes well, that it was not the Interest or Inclination of the *Papists* to depose or Murder King *James*, or to abolish kingly Government. Why? Because King *James* was a *Papist*, and, as such, used all the power of his Crown to establish their Superstition. But if he had carried his Parallel up to King *Charles* the first, he might have shewn a Practice something contrary; when the *Papists* of *Ireland* swore Allegiance to their Protestant King, and at the same time deposed him, as far as was in their Power, murdered their Protestant Fellow Subjects, set up a Common wealth in Opposition to his Majesty's chief Governour, whom they often met in hostile Arms. In reality they acted contrary to what some of the Philosophers reported of *Epicurus*, that he, *Verbis tollit re ponit deos*. But they, *verbis ponunt, re tollunt Regem*. —I am far from defending the Actions of the *Sectaries* against King *Charles* the first; but the Patriot should have distinguished between those Miscreants who deposed and murdered him, and those loyal *Presbyterians*, who were very instrumental in restoring his Son. This would be dealing equally.

4thly. Our Patriot seems to have been mistaken, when he undervalues the Numbers and Strength of the *Papists* of *Ireland*, and when he asserts, that the landed *Papish* Interest in *England* far exceeds that among us, even in Proportion to the wealth and extent of each Kingdom. This seems to be a shaft Shot at random, and that he never had the Opportunity, or took the pains, of minutely entering into a Comparison of these things. But (adds he) Popery is not properly Dangerous in that Sense, as some would have us take it; because it is universally hated by every Party of a different religious Profession. Why is this so? Because of the enmity the *Papists* have ever professed to Protestants of all Denominations; because of their cruelties when in Power; and because of the Miseries and Desolation they causelessly brought upon this poor Country by their Rapine, Plunderings, and Massacres in the Rebellion now under Consideration. But I must beg leave to dissent from him, that their Numbers and Strength are so contemptible, as he would make them. It were to be wished, that this was really true, and that we were all united in Religion, Affections, and Allegiance. But when we reflect upon the Passages of past times, when we have seen in the midst of a profound Calm an unprovok-

ed Rebellion raised, and the innumerable Mischiefs consequent thereon, common prudence dictates to us to be aware of the sleeping Crocodile.—But, adds the Patriot, the Papists are wholly disarmed.—*Arms are a ready Commodity, and easily procured.*—They want Courage.—*The behaviour of their Countrymen abroad, and of themselves in the Battle of Aughrim, evince the contrary.*—They want Leaders.—*So they did in the Rebellion of 1641*; yet this was soon remedied by their Countrymen at that time in pay in *Flanders*—They want Money.—If that were the Case, which may be doubted, Foreign Princes would be ready to supply their wants upon a proper emergency, in order to distract the Affairs of *England*.---And they want Inclinations to Rebel.---I trust in God that is so, for their own sakes, as well as ours. But when the Dialogue, to which this is an Answer, was written, as is confessed¹, during the late Rebellion in *Scotland*; when another impudent and scurrilous Pamphlet of the like tendency, intitled the *Impartial Examiner*, was published by Mr. *John Jones*, a Popish Priest, it is natural to inquire, why these things were done at such a Critical juncture?—They appear easy and satisfied (proceeds our Patriot) under the Connivence they enjoyed during the whole last Reign.—They appear to do so still; and I may confidently say, the Indulgence of the present Government gives them no Reason to appear otherwise.—The Papists, says he, of Substance, and their Priests, almost universally, are *Whigs*.—*Credat Judeus Apella, non ego.* What think you of that, Doctor? Sure if they were such, they would embrace all Opportunities by Oaths and Subscriptions to shew their Allegiance to his Majesty in the strongest Terms.—But they feel (concludes the Patriot) the smart, and see the scars of their former Wounds, and very well know that they must be made a Sacrifice to the least attempt towards a change.---Smarts, and scars, have not been always Warnings to this People to avoid Rebellion. How many suffered in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign in their Lives, Estates, and Fortunes? And yet afterwards they made several attempts to shake off, what they call, the yoke, even before the Grand Rebellion. Upon the whole, our Patriot seems to Reason, as if he had a Mind to open the Door wide to the *Papists*, and shut it close against the *Dissenting Protestants*. Is this holding the ballance with an even Hand? And now, Sir, I think I have finished.

Pap. Yes, you have made some remarks upon the Head and Body of the Dialogue; but you have left the Tail of it

¹ Advertisement
prefixed
to it.

untouched, that is; the several Pieces annexed in the way
an Appendix. If you think them not worth your notice,
you may pass them over.

Prot. I may, Sir, without being taxed with negligence;
because I have remarked fully on most of them in the pre-
ceding Pages. Yet, since you require it, I will rather be
guilty of tautology, than forbear to humour you.

Your first Piece * is a Remonstrance from the Gentry and
Commonalty of the County of *Cavan* to the Lords Justices, * *Append.*
dated the 6th of *November* 1641, which you say was drawn No. 1. p.
up by Bishop *Bedel*, and I believe it; he being at that time 70.
in the power of these Rebels, and obliged to do whatever
they commanded. “ It gives indeed the best Colours for
“ their Rebellion of any of all the Papers that ever Bishop
“ *Burnet* saw;” yet they are plausible Colours only cast *Life of*
over an odious Cause. But let us see what your Remon- *Bedel* p.
strants say. They set forth “ *grievous pressures* under which *142.*
“ they for a long time had groaned, occasioned by the *rigo-* *Dub. Edit.*
“ *rous Government* of those, who respected more the Ad-
“ vancement of *their own private Fortunes*, than *the King’s*
“ *honour*, or the welfare of his Subjects, which they had
“ declared to his Majesty by Agents from the Parliament.
This Point I have fully discussed before, and shewed,
that all pressures complained of before the Rebellion were
amply redressed upon the Representation of the Agents
mentioned. They then shew “ their *Fears and Ap-*
“ *prehensions* of Dangers from the proceedings of their
“ Neighbour Nations, which had been already attempted
“ by *certain Petitioners* for the like Course to be taken in
“ *Ireland* in a *Compulsory way*.” This also hath been shewed
before to be only a varnish to the Rebellion, and that the
fears and jealousies of the Rebels were only affected to ce-
ment their Party. “ Therefore, say they, for preventing
“ such evils in this Kingdom, we have for the *Preservation*
“ of the *King’s honour*, and our own *Liberties*, taken into
“ our Hands for his *Use* and *Service* such *Forts*, and other
“ Places of Strength, as might be disadvantageous, and
“ tend to the *utter undoing of the Kingdom*, if they came
“ into the possession of others.” That is, in plain *English*,
that they had taken the King’s Forts out of the Hands of his
Governours, lest, if they continued in their possession, they
should make an ill use of them. If this be not Rebellion
raised upon the surmises of Causeless Jealousies, I am at a
loss for a Name for it. I suppose their attempt to surprize

the Castle of *Dublin* was grounded upon the like Cause. “ But we declare, add they, *that herein we harbour* “ *not the least thought of disloyalty* towards his Majesty, or “ purpose any hurt to his Subjects, but desire your Lord- “ ships will make a Remonstrance to his Majesty for us of “ all our *Grievances* and *just Fears*, that they may be re- “ moved, and a Course settled by Parliament for *liberty of* “ *Conscience*, and *ease from Burthens* in the Civil Govern- “ ment.” Here they drove at an absolute Toleration of their Religion ; for they had no Reason to complain of being debarred of *liberty of Conscience*, which they enjoyed as fully by *Connivance*, as if they had it established by Law, in the same Manner as those of their Perswasion enjoy it at present. Their ease from Burthens in the Civil Government is darkly expressed ; but undoubtedly their Aim was to displant the Plantations made in the six escheated Counties, and to restore the Lands thereof to the antient Proprietors, which had been forfeited by numerous Rebellions. But it was not yet time to speak out till they gathered more Strength, which afterwards they did not fail to do. But they *harbour no disloyalty to the King, nor harm to his Subjects*. No not the least. The seizing the King’s Forts, and spoiling and murdering his Subjects, is no disloyalty, no harm, in their Sense. The same pretences were soon after set up by the new formed Commonwealth of the Confederate Catholicks at *Kilkenny* ; who bound themselves by an Oath of Allegiance to the King, and at the same time raised Armies to fight his Lieutenant, and modelled a Government among themselves in direct Opposition to his. Yet must these be deemed loyal Subjects, because they are pleased to stile themselves so ? These Remonstrants proceed to say, “ that as to “ the mischiefs and inconveniences arising from the disorder “ of the *common sort of People* against the *English Inhabi-* “ *tants*, or any other, that they, and others of the *several* “ *Counties of Ireland* were *most willing and ready* to use “ their best endeavours to cause *Restitution* and *Satisfaction* “ to be made, as in Part *they had already done*.” The latter part of this Paragraph is a direct Lie. How Restitution could be made for the Murders of Numbers (which here was the Case) is hard to be conceived, or how they could undertake for the several other Counties of the Kingdom is as preposterous : And as to imputing “ the *mischiefs* and “ *inconveniencies* [soft Words for Massacres] happening “ through

“ through the disorders of the common People, ” these are alledged by you before ^m in other Words, to which you ^m Dial. p. have received a full Answer ⁿ, which I shall not repeat. 47. 48. Then these Rebels desire the Lords Justices speedy ⁿ Answ. Answer “ for avoiding the inconveniency of the *Barbarousness* P. 163. and *Incivility* of the *Commonalty*, who had committed many *Outrages without any Order, Consent, or privy* of theirs.” Pray Sir, what do the Words *Barbarousness, Incivility, Outrages* import? Not the common Commission of Plunderings and Robberies, but in my sense of the Words they signifie Savage Cruelties, and Inhumanities, which here are confessed so early as the 6th of *November*, when this Remonstrance was drawn up; and this helps to obviate an objection of yours ^o, that no Murders were committed by the *Irish* earlier than the 23d of *December* 1641, 29. which I have remarked on before P. ^p Answ.

But let us examine how the Lords Justices behaved upon P. 123. the delivery of this Remonstrance. They returned ^q a very ^q Templ. fair and moderate Answer, though nothing conclusive, P. 50. “ assuring them of their readiness to give all just redress of ^r Borl. p. “ their Grievances expressed therein, so as they would in ³¹. “ the mean time retire peaceably to their Houses, restore, “ as they were able, the *English-Men’s* Goods, and forbear “ all further Acts of *Rapine and Violence*,” and they presently sent over their Remonstrance to the Lord Lieutenant to be presented to the King. The Presenter of this Remonstrance, Doctor *Jones*, in a Remonstrance soon after made by him to the Parliament of *England*, says ^r, “ that ^r Remon- “ the Rebels expected no other Answer, their Remonstrance str. p. 17 “ being intended rather to win upon the People, whose “ Cause they pleaded, than to give any reasonable Satisfaction to the Lords Justices, and that they intended to lull “ the Government in security with a Treaty of Peace, “ while they were preparing for War, and making ready “ to set forward to surprize *Dublin*.” During the presenting of this Remonstrance, and before they received any Answer, they mustered their Forces, and summoned all to appear from 16 to 60 on the Monday following, the 8th, at *Virginia*, in their Road to *Dublin*, though they had impowered Doctor *Jones* to assure the Government, “ that there “ should be a Cessation of all things till the return of their “ Lordships Answer.” But what Faith could be expected from those, who had already cast off all Allegiance to their King? They had ^c now drenched themselves in the blood ^c Templ. of p. 50.

1 Borl.
p. 31.

of the *English*, and were greatly enriched with their Spoils; of which it was not possible for them to make restitution; and by the 11th of *December* they made themselves Master of the whole County, except the two Castles of *Keilab* and *Crohan*, which were defended against them; and these very Rebels joined those from the *North* in besieging *Drogheda*. To what end, Sir, have you now produced this Remonstrance? I verily think to expose those Rebels, whom you intended to defend.

u Appen:
2. p. 73.
w Answ.
p. 105.

I shall take no Notice of the next Number of your Appendix taken from *Howell's Mercurius Hibernicus*, because I have given very full Remarks on every particular of it before w. But I must observe, that the conclusion *Howell* draws does not arise out of his Premises. For he says, " that they who complied with the *Scot* in his Insurrection [*which must be the King who made Peace with the Scot*] they who dismissed the *Irish* Commissioners with such a short and unpolite Answer [*still the King; for I have shewed in the place cited, that no Commissioners were sent to the Parliament*] may be justly said to have been the true Causes of the late Insurrection of the *Irish*." This conclusion is as destitute of truth as your whole Dialogue. For I have demonstrated before *, that the Rebellion was contrived and anvilled many Years before it broke out; so that the compliance with the *Scot*, and the short and unpolite Answer mentioned by you and *Howell*, are all Nugatory.

z Answ.
p. 114.

y No. 3.
p. 76.

The next quotation in your Appendix y from *Peter Walsh* is likewise answered before in divers parts of the preceding Pages, which therefore I pass over: But one thing I must remark on that Author, because he carries his Account of the Racking of Sir *John Read* further than the Earl of *Castlemhaven* hath done. For he says, " that most part of the Questions put to him in his Torture were only such as might lead him to accuse the King and Queen of being the Authors and Fomentors of the Rebellion." The same Objection was raised by the *Irish* Commissioners against the Preamble to the Act of Settlement, when the same was in Agitation before the Council of *England*. The Answer of the Protestant Commissioners to this point will be an Answer to *Walsh*, and the more forcible it will be, as it comes from the Mouth of such, of whom, probably, some might have been present at the Racking, which the *Irish* Rebels could not be supposed to be. " As for the Racking of Sir *John Read* (say they) it doth not appear by whose

" Order

" Order it was done, nor consequently who was obliged to
 " Answer this Objection. But it is well known the said
 " *Read* faultered much in the pretence of his Business.
 " Nor is it a thing to be wondered at, that only one suspiti-
 " ous Person, and a Stranger, should be strictly examined
 " in a time of a general Conspiracy to prevent blood shed,
 " nor that questions should be asked him, whereby to unde-
 " ceive the many thousands of People, who had been abu-
 " sed by the Roman-Catholicks into an Opinion, that his
 " Majesty countenanced that Rebellion, and to discover the
 " cheat of setting of an old great Seal to the new Commis-
 " sions for their Villainies." And now, Sir, you see, that
 the Questions asked of Sir *John Read* on the Rack tended to
 clear, and not to impeach the King and Queen of being the
 Authors and Fomentors of the Rebellion, as you from
Walsh would insinuate. I have in my Custody by the favour
 of the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellor, and the
 Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Clogher*, a Collection of
 all the Proceedings of the Commissioners from the Conven-
 tion, and Lords Justices of *Ireland*, in 1660 and 1661, and of
 the Commissioners from the *Irish* upon that occasion, which
 will manifest the said point, and many other particulars set
 forth in this Dialogue. But as they are much too long to
 be inserted in an Appendix, and many of them foreign from
 the matter in hand, though material for the general History
 of those times, I have an intention of publishing them at
 large under the title of *the third part of the Hibernica*, or a
 Collection of Papers relating to the History of *Ireland*, for
 which I will soon send abroad Proposals.

And now, Doctor, I have done with all the Articles of
 your Appendix.

Pap. No, Sir, you have taken no Notice of an Annexed
 Letter from a Gentleman in *Scotland* to his Friend at *Lon-*
don, dated at *Edinburgh* April 20th 1692, who had desired
 a particular Account of the business at *Glenco*, nor of the
 piece thereto added called *Gallienus Redivivus*.

Prot. These Doctor, I passed over, as they are contained
 under no Number of your Appendix, and as they appear to
 have not the least relation to the Subject of your Dialogue.
 For what hath a transaction in *Scotland* of 1692 to do with
 the Rebellion of *Ireland* in 1641?

Pap. Not much indeed; but it is to let you see, that
 Protestants can be guilty of Massacres as well as Papists.

Prot. This Allegation, how false soever, seems to amount
 to

to a tacit confession of the guilt of the Papists in 1641 ; and I am glad to find, that you incline to a better way of thinking, than what you have shewed in the whole scope of your Dialogue. Still, Sir, I find you make no difference between a Military Execution against 36 Rebels, who omitted to submit themselves to the Government upon repeated Proclamations of Indemnity, and Rebels, who in the midst of a profound Peace, without provocation, or any cause for a Revolt, began an infamous Rebellion by the Massacres of many thousand innocent, unoffending, unsuspecting Protestants in cold blood.

Pap. You mistake the point, Sir. Your Hero, King *William*, issued his Orders and Instructions for the Execution of the Men of *Glenco* in cold blood, after they had submitted to the Government by taking the Oaths as required by the Proclamation of Indemnity.

Prot. This is a vile suggestion against the Memory of King *William*, whom with an Ironical sneer you call a Hero. He was indeed a Hero of the first class, who by his invincible labours protected the liberties of all Europe, and restored and supported the Religion established in these Kingdoms against the efforts of two powerful Monarchs, who had conspired to overturn both. And this, Sir, is the real cause of your Grief. The *Mac Donalds* of *Glenco* did not submit to the Government, nor take the Oaths within the time limited by repeated Proclamations, and consequently were subjected to the rigour of the Laws. Yet I do readily admit, that they met with very hard, nay, inhumane measures. But you should impute that matter to the right cause, not to King *William*, but to Secretary *Stair*, an ambitious Minister, whose Religion was Interest, and who for the execution employed Tools of the like Principles with himself.

Pap. King *William* signed and countersigned the Instructions drawn by Secretary *Stair*, “ that such as had not taken the Oaths by the time limited should be excluded the benefit of the Indemnity, and destroyed by Fire and Sword ; ” and hereby he made himself a Party in the Cruelty.

Prot. You purposely omit to take Notice of the express mitigation of these Instructions contained in the 4th Article of them, Namely, “ that the Rebels may not think themselves desperate, we allow you to give terms and quarter, but in this manner only, that Chieftanes and Heritors, or
“ Loaders

“ Loaders be Prisoners of War, their Lives only safe, and
 “ all other things in Mercy, they taking the Oath of Al-
 “ legiance, and the Community taking the same Oath, and
 “ rendering their Arms, and submitting to the Government
 “ are to have Quarter and indemnity for their Lives and
 “ Fortunes, and be protected from the Soldiers.” To
 these Instructions others were added a few Days after, “ for
 “ giving passes, for receiving the submission of certain of
 “ the Rebels, wherein the King judged it much better, that
 “ those who took not the benefit of the Indemnity in due
 “ time should be obliged to render upon Mercy, they ta-
 “ king the Oath of Allegiance; to which is added, “ If
 “ *Mac-Jan* of *Glenco*, and that Tribe can be well separa-
 “ ted from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the
 “ publick Justice to extirpate that sept of Thieves ”

Pap. Here is an express Order to extirpate the Men of *Glenco*.

Prot. No, Sir, you will see the King vindicated from such an aspersion presently. In the mean time you may learn from *Bishop Burnet*,⁷ how the King came to sign⁷ Vol. 2. this Order without examining the importance or contents p. 91. of it. “ For his Majesty often suffered business to run in
 “ Arrear till a great heap of Papers were laid before him at
 “ once, which he then signed too precipitately.” And that was the case here, wherein he was basely imposed upon by his Secretary, who concealed from him, that *Mac-Jan* had offered to take the Oaths to Colonel *Hill* within the time prescribed by the Proclamation, or that he took them as soon afterwards as he could repair to a legal Magistrate. The Clamour raised upon this Affair was great and just, though the King was innocent, to whom it was represented, that a Session of Parliament could not be managed in *Scotland* without high Complaints, which his Ministers could not oppose without seeming to bring the guilt both on him and them; to obviate which, his Majesty issued a Commission of *Precognition*, a practise according to the Laws of *Scotland*, of examining Crimes before the Persons were brought upon their Trials.

Pap. This was all an Artifice to cover the Massacre by a private Inquiry.

Prot. So far from it, the Commissioners proceeded vigorously in their Inquiry, and returned a special Report of the Case of the *Glenco* Men to the Parliament, wherein they lay open the several Authors and Actors of that Villainy, and

in the third Article of their Report they say “ that there
 “ was nothing in the King’s Instructions to warrant the
 “ committing of that Slaughter, even as to the thing itself,
 “ and for less as to the manner of it ; seeing they all plainly
 “ import, *that the most obstinate of the Rebels might be recei-*
 “ *ved into Mercy upon taking the Oath of Allegiance*, though
 “ the Day was long before elapsed, and that his Majesty
 “ ordered nothing concerning the Tribe of *Glenco*, but that,
 “ if they could be well separated from the rest, it would be
 “ a proper Vindication of publick Justice to extirpate that
 “ sept of Thieves, which, say the Commissioners, plainly
 “ intimates, that it was his Majesty’s Opinion, *that they*
 “ *could not be separated from the rest of the Rebels*, unless
 “ they still slighted his Mercy by continuing in Arms, and
 “ refusing their Allegiance, and that even in such a Case,
 “ *they were only to be proceeded against in the way of publick*
 “ *Justice, and no other way.*” They further report, “ that
 “ the several Letters of Secretary *Stair*, which were the
 “ cause of this Slaughter, *were no ways warranted by, but*
 “ *quite exceeded, the King’s Instructions*, since the said Let-
 “ ters, without insinuating any method to be taken, that
 “ might well separate the *Glenco* Men from the rest, did,
 “ in the room of prescribing a Vindication of publick Jus-
 “ tice, order them to be cut off, and rooted out in earnest.”

Pap. What did the Parliament do in Vindication of the King upon receiving this Report.

Prot. The Report being read, together with the depositions of Witnesses, the King’s Instructions, and several Letters of Secretary *Stair*, they unanimously Voted, “ that
 “ *the King’s Instructions to Levingston and Hill contained no*
 “ *Warrant for the Execution of the Glenco Men ; that the*
 “ *said Execution was a Murder ; that Stair’s Letters did*
 “ *exceed the King’s Instructions, and that Levingston had*
 “ *reason to give the Orders he had given.*” The Commissioners received the thanks of the Parliament for laying the discovery of the *Glenco* Massacre before them, and for their careful procedure in the Commission of Enquiry, and a new protection was granted the *Glenco* Men.

Pap. I do not find that either the Authors of this Massacre, or the Actors in it, were punished for what they had contrived or perpetrated.

Prot. It might, perhaps, be thought hard to punish Soldiers for executing the Orders of their Commanders, or the Commanders for obeying the Orders of the Secretary of State,

State, given by repeated Letters, who only appears to be loaded with the contrivance and guilt of this Massacre. Yet Secretary *Stair* was only dismissed from the Kings Service without further Punishment ; such was his Majestie's mildness and Lenity even to excess ; and indeed the not punishing the Contrivers of this Massacre with due Rigour was the greatest blot in his Reign, though he himself was intirely innocent of it.

But the length of our Conversation hath insensibly drawn us into a late Hour, and I have no more to say either in relation to this Massacre, or any other part of your Dialogue or Appendix's ; all which I have answered in the best manner I could from the several Histories of the times cotemporary with the Actions, which must carry the strongest weight of Authority ; and now I submit all I have said to the Judgment and censure of the Publick. So, Sir, I wish you a good Night, and hope you will pardon the Acrimony I have been sometimes forced to use by your unguarded Assertions,

T H E E N D

Just Published.

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